Rural versus Urban

Styling social position among rural Danish youth

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CONTENT

Transcription conventions

Conversational features

[]	Overlapping speech
=	Latching between two speaker turns
(.)	Short pause
(0.5)	Timed pause
xxx	Incomprehensible speech
Unknown	Unidentified speaker
{uncertain}	Uncertain transcription
((ler))	Laughter, audible non-verbal activities, comments on transcription or linguistic features
hh	Audible in- or out-breath
-	Self- and/or other-interruption
:	Prolongation of preceding sound
stress	Speaker emphasis on sounds or words
LOUD	Speech noticeably louder than surrounding speech
°quiet°	Speech noticeably quieter than surrounding speech
>fast<	Speech noticeably faster than surrounding speech
<slow>	Speech noticeably slower than surrounding speech

Prosodic features

Intonation	Intonation contours different from Contemporary West Jutlandic
↑	Sentence pitch raise
↓	Sentence pitch fall
→	Continuous sentence intonational tone/pitch
wo↑rd	Local pitch rise within a word or a significantly high onset
wo↓rd	Local pitch fall within a word or a significantly low onset

Phonological features

[ŋ]	As in “ikke”/”ikke også”
[s+]	Exaggerated fronting of /s/

[uə]	Diphthongisation of [o:]
[ʔ]	West Jutlandic *stød*
[ɑ]	"Dark" /a/, exaggerated opening of [a]
[ʌ]	Lowered [o]
[ˈ]	*Stød* after-tone
[ˀ]	Stronger *stød* ("stylistic shortening") than in Contemporary West Jutlandic

The phonological features are used in accordance with Grønnum (2005). They are noted in the Danish transcripts and not in the English translations.

Features representing different registers

Bold	Stylised utterances
Italics	English in original transcript
Dialect	Classical West Jutlandic dialect features
Kbhsk	Stylised *københavnsk* features
Jysk	Exaggerated Contemporary West Jutlandic
German	German intonation

Note on translation: The translation of the Danish episodes into English foregrounds the semantic meaning. Consequently, word and phrases are not necessarily directly translated, but in such cases I comment on the translation in the following analysis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This project focuses on linguistic practices among adolescents living in the small provincial town Oksbøl in the Western-most part of Denmark. It looks at how they manage their routine activities, and how they structure their social worlds through language use expressive of ideological perceptions of sameness and difference, appropriateness versus inappropriateness and high versus low social status. In the episode below, Jonas, Kim and Mikkel employ marked and exaggerated linguistic features associated with a Copenhagen intonation and the local dialect. None of the speech forms feature in the boys` unmarked speech practices. The juxtaposition of dialects and Copenhagen-based Standard Danish reflects widely known ideologies and assumptions about differences between urban and rural Denmark (e.g. Pedersen 2003, 2005, also Britain forthc. Coupland 2001). They are therefore "part of a *system of* distinction" (Irvine 2001: 22, original italics). The episode highlights how the boys map linguistic features associated with Copenhagen speech and the local dialect onto distinctive places, and how they, in so doing, designate both the linguistic forms and places as indexical of individual social characteristics to be exploited interactionally. The extract closes a longer clarification sequence in which Jonas and Mikkel try to find out more about my job, which Mikkel generally viewed rather tentatively. The following exchange spins off, when the boys ask if I have any colleagues.

Extract 1.1: The dark part of Jutland (16:42-17:10)

Particiants: Emilie[1], Jonas, Kim, Mikkel, Unknown, Signe

01	Mikkel	så der er faktisk også	so there are actually
02		andre i hele: Danmark	others in all: of Denmark
03		der går rundt og siger↓	who go around say↓
04	Jonas	°jeg er sprogforsker°	°I research language°
05	Mikkel	**må jeg høre hvad I siger**	**may I hear what you say**
06	Signe	ja↓	yes↓
07	Mikkel	nej=	no=
08	Signe	=men det er mest i	=but mostly in
09		København↓	Copenhagen↓

[1] All Participant names, except my own, are pseudonyms

10	Jonas	<men hvorfor er du så	<but then why are you not
11		ikke derovre>	there>
12	Mikkel	det er fordi hun synes	because she thinks it´s
13		det er meget sejere at	much cooler being in
14		[være i den MØRKE del af=	[the DARK part of=
15	Jonas	[kommer xxx	[do you xxx
16	Mikkel	[=Jylland↓	[=Jutland↓
17	Signe	[nej jeg kommer faktisk	[no actually I`m from
18		fra Horne ((ɒ))	Horne ((ɒ))
(1.1)			
19	Jonas	seriøst	seriously
(0.8)			
20	Signe	seriøst ((smiler))	seriously ((smiles))
21	Jonas	BOR [du der	do you [LIVE there
22	Mikkel	[hun er fra den mørke	[she is from the
23		[del af Jylland	[dark part of Jutland
24	Signe	[nej jeg bor i København	[no I live in Copenhagen
25	Kim	åh HVAD	uh WHAT
26	Uknown	[lol	[lol
27	Jonas	hvad for en del af	what part of
28		[Horne ((ɒ))	[Horne ((ɒ))
29	Emilie	[er du kommet hele vejen	[have you come all the
30		hertil	way here
31	Signe	Ho- ikke Horne	Ho- not Horne
32	Jonas	Horne Horne jeg ve-	Horne Horne I kn-
33		jeg ved da godt hvor	I do know where Horne
34		[Horne xxx	[xxx
35	Mikkel	[Horne ((ler)) det hedder	[Horne ((laughs)) it´s
36		sgu da Horne	fucking Horne ((laughs))
37	Signe	nej↑	no↑
38	Jonas	der er Ho- der er også	there is Ho- there is
39		TELTbal i Horne	also TENT party in Horne
40	Kim	du er så (.) hor:ni↑	you are so (.) hor:ni↑

As way of posing a clarifying question, Mikkel (lines 5, 7) performs a conversation between a researcher like me (someone with an interest in how others talk) and a participant. Mikkel includes a Copenhagen intonation when he voices the researcher´s question "may I hear what you say" (line 5), whereas the intonation in the negative participant response "no" (line 7) corresponds to his unmarked speech. Here, the Copenhagen voice indexes a researcher who carries out a divergent activity and with whom Mikkel disaffiliates. He elaborates this distance in lines 12-14 and 16, as he flags local patriotism when he states that I prefer the dark, but much cooler, Jutland to Copenhagen. With this he introduces a nationally well-known, socio-cultural antagonism between East (Copenhagen) and West (Jutland, Oksbøl) Denmark in which Jutland is stereotypically described as ´mørk` (´dark`), in the sense of being backward and desolate, in contrast to Copenhagen (see also extract 3.3). The boys know that I live in Copenhagen, but when I tell them that I grew up in a very small rural village some 25 kilometres East of Oksbøl (lines 17-18), this new information 1) changes the activity frame from interrogative to teasing (lines 27-40), and alters the boys` social value-ascriptions to me.

Jonas displays considerable skepticism about this new information, detectable through his delayed response (the (1.1) pause, which is unusually long in this part of the recording), his "seriously" (line 19) and his emphasis on "do you LIVE there" (line 21). This skepticism seems to make the ground for the following tease in his next question: "what part of *Horne*" (lines 27-28). The small size of Horne makes this question humorous, and Jonas teases me for coming from an insignificantly small village. Another, interrelated teasing element is played out in the local, traditional dialect pronunciation of *Horne* (also lines 31, 32, 35-36), whereby Jonas refers to a well-known, regional joke about Horne and speakers from Horne. The dialectal [ɒ] pronunciation in *Horne* (contrary to Contemporary West Jutlandish [o]) brings about associations with English "horny", so that speakers from Horne are horny. Kim eventually verbalises this social value-ascription in line 40.

The episode illustrates how language use indexes distinctive social practices and social contexts. As this thesis shows in subsequent chapter, the employment of marked Copenhagen intonation and dialect features are at odds with unmarked speech practices. Here Mikkel, Kim and Jonas interactionally exploit the indexical meaning potentials of these linguistic resources to voice disaffiliation with distant places and deviant social practices (being nosily eavesdropping on how others speak and having an uncontrollable sexual libido) at odds with normal behaviour projected

through an unmarked, Oksbølian voice. In that sense, they project substantial othering to speakers in Copenhagen and Horne (and, hence, to me as representative of these two places). The boys` indexical projections of Oksbøl, Horne and Copenhagen thereby become means to position as Oksbølian. However, the boys not only take social positions, they also reflexively display existing macro-societal power relations of urban and rural Denmark at both national and regional levels, as they recursively leave the socio-cultural position perceived to be more central undefined.

1.1 Focus of this project

Denmark is recursively constructed as a country about to break in half (e.g. Dybvad 2015, Schroll & Søgaard 2011, Slumstrup 2015) with a culturally and economically affluent and dynamic area centring in and around Copenhagen, the Danish capital, and a poor, desolate and futureless periphery making up most rural parts of Denmark. In the above episode, we see how places and social practices are contrasted and mutually constitutive in a hierarchical order. On the one hand, Copenhagen and the Copenhagen voice are contrasted to the preferable dark part of Jutland (Oksbøl). Here, the local place and local practices are projected as deviant and stigmatised – as dark, whereas stereotypic value ascriptions to Copenhagen are assumed and implied rather than directly expressed. On the other hand, Horne and associated practices are stigmatised and contrasted to Oksbøl, which is now left undefined, as a small village that deviates from other (bigger) towns within the local area. What comes out is the projection of Copenhagen as most central, then Oksbøl and then, finally, Horne at the fringe. What the boys do, then, is to reinforce the juxtaposition of rural and urban Denmark in relation to power and prestige.

Such urban-rural dichotomy (e.g. Britain forthc., chapter 3) has long been the topic of much research on speech practices in rural areas (e.g. Jørgensen 1983, Kristensen 1977, 1980, Maegaard 2001, Pedersen 1986, Pedersen & Horneman 1996, Schøning 2010). These examine the mutually shaping processes of sociolinguistic centralisation – the spreading of Copenhagen-based Standard Danish and the sociolinguistic peripheralisation – the decline and loss of traditional Danish dialects. This project discerns the adolescents` situated employments of linguistic features associated with local, traditional dialect, *vestjysk* ("West Jutlandic") and with Copenhagen-based Standard Danish. Subsequent chapters illustrate how *vestjysk* is near-extinct among the adolescents, whereas Copenhagen speech, meaning a Copenhagen intonation, is equally absent in their routine speech practices. The adolescents employ resources of *vestjysk* and Copenhagen speech as stylisations

(henceforward Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk*). With these, they 1) flag the momentary disruption of unmarked speech practices, and 2) flag the introduction of secondary representations of social categorisations and social stances (e.g. Rampton 2006). Thus, by putting on such voices the adolescents carry out reflexive activities, which require and demand special attention. In 95 hours of audio recording, Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* featured as the two most prominently-used stylised registers. Through micro-analyses, this project explores how the adolescents exploit and reanimate indexical values ascribed to these features in projections of alignment and stance-taking in everyday encounters.

This project builds on six months of ethnographic fieldwork among 66 13-15 year-olds as they carry out their daily routines in and out of school and leisure-time activities. It examines the indexical fields (Eckert 2008) of Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk*. It illustrates how the distinctive ideologies attached to the registers involve aspects of high and low social status, and how the adolescents use the registers to reproduce, contest and reflexively comment on macro-societal ideologies of urbanity and rurality. My work evolves around four interrelated research questions:

1) How do the adolescents use Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk*, when, with whom, for what purpose?
2) What indexical social meanings do they ascribe to the two registers?
3) What norms and ideologies are (re)produced through these indexicalities?
4) And how do these local ideologies reflect larger ideological notions of social processes and structures? That is, how and in what ways do these correspond to macro-structural notions of urban centralisation and rural peripheralisation?

Chapters 6 and 7 address the first two questions, whereas the final two are discussed in chapter 8. However, in order to answer these research questions, the total linguistic fact (Silverstein 1985, also Agha 2007: 17, 147-149) runs as an analytical guiding principle (Karrebæk 2013: 256, Rampton 2006) throughout this work. This fact is mediated by the three integral components language form, situated use and cultural ideology (Silverstein 1985: 220). These three are inseparably linked, and in the opening episode, Jonas, Kim and Mikkel projected the inclusion of all three components in their employments of the marked Copenhagen intonation and the dialectal pronounciation of "Horne": They employed linguistic forms that had interactional functions (as part of an imagined

conversation and as part of a tease), and that were indexical of particular socio-geographical places (Copenhagen and Horne) and types of social activity (listening in on how others speak and having an uncontrollable sexual libido). Hence, they were immersed with ideological perceptions of different ways of being in the world, and they were means for the boys to take stances in relations to these perceptions.

1.2 Ideology

In the most basic sense, this work is about ideological perceptions of distinctiveness (e.g. Irvine 2001), expressed through indexical value ascriptions (Ochs 1990: 287). It tells the story of how young speakers (re)activate, (re)enact, align with and discard ideological perceptions of their social worlds, and how they construct social values by exploiting and creating social meaning potentials through language use. This story is as old as sociolinguistics itself, with Labov´s (1972 [1963]) study of Martha´s Vineyard being a famous example. By looking at the centralisation of diphthongs, Labov showed how linguistic usage correlated with, or was indexical of, distinct groups of speakers, such as local fishermen or island-loyal youngsters, and how the centralisation came to index social positions that favoured local, social practices associated with the island as opposed to seasonal holiday visitors and social practices linked to the American mainland (see also Bucholtz 1999, 2011, Coupland 2001, Eckert 2000, Rampton 1995, 2006, to mention just a few grand examples).

Language ideologies are "sets of beliefs about [social practice] articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived [social] structure and [language] use" (Silverstein 1979: 193, also Kroskrity 2010). This implies that all "cultural and linguistic phenomena are (…) ideological "all the way down"" (Silverstein 1998: 126, see also section 4.2), and, consequently, that ideology is at the heart of social conduct. Ideologies, Silverstein (1998) specifies,

> present invokable schemata in which to explain and interpret the meaningful flow of indexicals. As such, they are necessary to and drive default modes of the gelling of this flow into textlike chunks. Ideologies are, thus, conceptualized as relatively preduring with respect to the indexicals-in-context that they construe. (Silverstein 1998: 129)

Subsequently, ideological perceptions are a structuring element in the process of linking different indexical values as representative of speakers and social practices (Agha 2007: chapter 3). The schemata stipulate rationalised and systematised ways of explaining indexical orders (Silverstein 2003) of linguistic features, which, in turn, may turn the indexical values of linguistic features into naturalised indexical icons – the semiotic process called *iconicity* (Gall & Irvine 1995: 973, see also section 4.1). Woolard (1998) adds to this in her delineations of ideology. These can be summarised as follows: 1) Ideology emanates from local, subjective experiences and ideas and represents local, social positions. This means that ideologies, like linguistic practices, are always local practices (Woolard 1998: 6), and that they need to be considered in the local context in which they emerge and from the perspectives of those producing them. This adds on to another point, namely that 2) ideology is reflexive of power struggles and social inequality (e.g. Blommaert 2009, 2010). Local ideologies must therefore also be viewed in relation to larger social processes. Rampton (2006) elaborates on this, as he operates with two types of interrelated and mutually constituting ideologies, established and behavioural ideologies (from Vološinov 1973, cited in Rampton 2006: 225-226). The former comprises ideologies that operate at macro-societal levels as ethics, religious and state ideologies, whereas the latter pops up in the routine unfolding of everyday interactions. Rampton (2006) demonstrates how established ideologies indirectly manifest in social practice through situated comments on and reflections of behavioural ideologies. In this work, we see how the Oksbøl adolescents work around established and behavioural ideologies, and how these ideologies affect their daily lives. In chapter 3, we look at how the adolescents describe their local area and future life trajectories in interviews and how these, by and large, correspond to established ideologies circulating in the Danish print media. Oksbøl, the adolescents underline, holds no suitable future, and it is therefore a place to be left behind. In chapters 6-8, we see how the adolescents flag behavioural ideologies that intersect with established ideologies, when speech forms associated with the rural are consistently downgraded and ascribed a low social status (chapter 6), whereas speech forms associated with the urban are upgraded and awarded high prestige (chapter 7).

1.3 Thesis outline

The analyses in all subsequent chapters focus on indexicality – the social meaning ascription to linguistic forms (e.g. Agha 2007, Eckert 2008). The aim is to understand how linguistic features index distinctive behavioural stances, ways of speaking and types of conduct, and how these, in

turn, project, and connect with, ideological assumptions. However, ideological perceptions are not only (re)enacted and reflexively commented on in everyday interactions. They also structure academic disciplines (e.g. Rampton et al. 2015) and how researchers approach their fields of study, the ways they collect data and the questions they ask of it (e.g. Britain forthc.). This is the focus of chapter 2, which positions this project within larger research traditions. Key motivation factors for bringing this project into being were that

> 1) dominant traditions in the study of dialects have played their part, at least in (some parts of) Denmark (however, see Monka & Hovmark forthc.), and that
>
> 2) contemporary concepts and language perspectives developed in contact situations in inner cities (e.g. Jørgensen 2010) are equally applicable to studies of language practices in rural, or less culturally diverse, areas (e.g. Mutsaers & Swanenberg 2012, Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013b).

This means that social practices repeatedly documented in the speech of contemporary urban youth are not exclusive of and restricted to urban language users, but that rural speakers perform similar activities (e.g. episodes in section 2.3). Rural and urban contexts are treated in significantly different ways in sociolinguistics – from quantitative and interactional perspectives, respectively. I describe distinctive characteristics and the underlying ideologies forming these (sections 2.1 and 2.2), and I stress that existing research traditions in a Danish context, at least, reinforce ideologies about the rural and the urban as distinctive and oppositional. I argue, building on Britain (forthc.), that this distinction relies on ideological "gazes" surrounding the rural and the urban (section 2.3), which hinder us to understand the rural and the urban in new and innovative ways. One way forward is a Linguistic Ethnography approach, because it provides as interdisciplinary framework, and because it has most typically been employed in studies focusing on urban contexts (e.g. Rampton 2006). Working within the confines of Linguistic Ethnography is therefore a means to fill this gap.

As the main ambition of Linguistic Ethnography is to link linguistic performances with large-scale societal processes and structures, chapter 3 situates Oksbøl in wider societal contexts. It falls in two parts: The first part describes the ethnographic field, the data and the social climate among the adolescents – with special attention to the three groupings "Egen Stil/Old-fashioned", "Semi" and "Bad". It describes how I, as a researcher who grew up in the area, was positioned within the field

and the measures I took to move past my own experiences as a West Jutlandic teenager. The second part constitutes the main body of the chapter. It outlines how Oksbøl – as a rural area – is treated as a periphery, popularly referred to as "Udkantsdanmark" ("Outskirts/Fringe Denmark"), in relation to the one dominant political, economic and cultural Danish centre, Copenhagen. The centre-periphery dimension has been the topic of recent studies of language and globalisation (e.g. Blommaert 2010, Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013a). The dimension structures on the urban-rural dichotomy (e.g. Britain forthc.), a recurrent topic in political and public discourse in which the rural falls subject to substantial othering and stigmatisation. The chapter illustrates how the adolescents reproduce such structures in their descriptions of Oksbøl and in their outlines of their future life trajectories in interviews.

Chapter 4 describes the theoretical framework for pinning down the total linguistic fact as an analytical tool in order to surface indexicality and ideological perceptions. This means that we need theoretical components which encircle these processes. Enregisterment (e.g. Agha 2007), orders of indexicality (Silverstein 2003, also 1998) and stylisation (e.g. Coupland 2001, 2007, Rampton 2006) provide such framework, but from different perspectives. All emphasise that neither language use, indexicality nor ideology are free-floating elements: Enregisterment underlines that the process of linking linguistic features to social stereotypes is a socio-historical phenomenon and that this process is historically grounded. Orders of indexicality encapsulate how language use and indexicality operate at different levels of ideological awareness and how semiotic features and values come into being in relation to – and by being contrasted to – other semiotic resources. Finally, stylisation is a situated, reflexive practice that puts on display, reproduces and transforms the indexical stereotypes, and that signifies how speakers align or misalign with the underlying ideological perceptions. In this sense, the three concepts conjure different aspects of language form, social function and ideological embedding.

A recurrent element in this work is how semiotic resources and social categorisations acquire distinctive characteristics by being contrasted to other resources and categories (e.g. Irvine 2001, Madsen 2013, Rampton 2006). This work focuses on stylised linguistic practices, but implied in the construction of stylised practices rests the construction of non-stylised practices. So, in order to understand how particular social and linguistic features come to encompass markedness and stylised usage, we need to know what counts as unmarked and non-stylised speech. This is the aim of

chapter 5, which provides quantitative analyses of ten sociolinguistic variables in the speech of nine adolescents. By comparing these results with the adolescents` metalinguistic comments on habitual language use, it shows what counts as "normal" and unmarked Contemporary West Jutlandic. In so doing, this study situates unmarked language use in Oksbøl in a wider sociolinguistic economy and connects it to variationist studies carried out elsewhere in Jutland.

Chapter 6 outlines the present conditions of the local dialect, *vestjysk*. Whereas this is traditionally outlined in terms of quantitative measurements that focus on the declining use of dialect, the aim of this chapter is to approach contemporary dialect use as an interactional phenomenon with a social function. To do so, it combines an apparent-time study of intergenerational dialect use among three generations in one family and micro-analyses of situated dialect use. This combination allows us to see how the local dialect varies across the generations, so that while the elder generations employ an unmarked, non-stylised dialect register, *vestjysk*, this has turned into a marked stylised register, Stylised *vestjysk*, among the adolescents. The chapter then moves on to analyse the indexical valence of Stylised *vestjysk*.

The structural analyses in chapter 5 show substantial unmarked use of linguistic variants traditionally associated with Copenhagen-based Standard Danish. The adolescents do not recognise this aspect in metacomments on local language use. Chapter 7 therefore scrutinises what it means when the adolescents employ marked features, especially intonation, ascribed to Copenhagen speech, and what the social impacts are. It encircles what linguistic features comprise "Copenhagen speech" among the adolescents, and it demonstrates that this register, Stylised *københavnsk*, is a locally-rooted register that differs from Copenhagen speech produced among Copenhagen speakers. Similarly, to chapter 6, this chapter then moves on to shed light on the indexical meaning potentials of this register.

As stated at the very beginning of this chapter, Copenhagen speech and local, rural dialects have a long and well-known history of being enregistered as oppositional. This was evident in the opening example in which Mikkel and Jonas associated Copenhagen, Horne and Oksbøl with distinctive social positions, social characteristics and ways of speaking. Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* therefore come to stand as the locally constructed linguistics components of the urban-rural dichotomy. Chapter 8 summarises the results in chapters 5, 6 and 7. In juxtapositioning the

findings in chapters 6 and 7, it demonstrates that when the adolescents employ Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* in their everyday activities, they reproduce large-scale societal structures of power and socio-geographic stratification.

Chapter 2: Ideologies of the urban-rural dichotomy

This project is an ethnographic study, which opens a window into the worlds of rural adolescents, and it analyses dialect use, among other things. It does so, however, in ways at odds with traditional approaches to the study of dialect. It takes it that language is an inherently social resource. It is not a structure, but a social construct structured in specific ways through constant re-use and re-valorisation, the process of enregisterment (Agha 2007), so that sets of linguistic features come to be perceived as belonging together and to be ideologically associated with types of conduct and with ways of speaking and being. Linguistic usage is therefore a social practice, or, put differently, a means of social differentiation and sameness (e.g. Bucholtz 2011, Coupland 2007, Eckert 2000, 2008, Jaspers 2011, Karrebæk 2016, Madsen 2015a Rampton 1995, 2006, Snell 2010). In Denmark, sociolinguistic research focusing on rural linguistic practices relies on a strong research tradition that highlights particular ways of data collection, data analysis and, hence, a particular way of theorising linguistic practices. In the following subsections, I describe this tradition, which I refer to as rural sociolinguistics, and I argue for new ways of doing research (section 2.1). In doing so, I look to research traditions developed in urban settings and how linguistic practices are conceptualised and approached in such settings (section 2.2). I refer to this as urban sociolinguistics. Finally, I discuss the ideological assumptions behind these research traditions and their reproduction (section 2.3), before I propose a combination of the traditions, which can be captured by Linguistic Ethnography (section 2.4).

2.1 Rural sociolingusitics: Language as structure

Traditionally, rural linguistic practices are termed "dialects", and the object of the early days of Danish dialectology was two-fold. On the one hand, it emerged as part of the national Romanticism movement and nation building (e.g. Gudiksen & Hovmark 2009, Pedersen 2009). The ambition was to characterise and preserve folklore traditions, which were believed to be under pressure (also Beal 2009: 146). This need for conservancy means that dialect levelling is no new issue in a Danish context, because Danish dialectology from the very beginning was a preservation project. What we witness today, then, is the final stage in a centuries-long process of loss. This means that then I refer to dialect variants as "traditional" or "classical", these do not necessarily equal a primordial form,

but the contemporary realisation of variants when they were first recorded from the 1850s to the early 1900s.

At that time, peasants and, subsequently, their language practices were perceived as

> original, real and unspoiled (…) in contrast to (…) the higher social classes that [are perceived as] polished and spoiled. These are civilised, educated but at the same time more affected and influenced by other cultures, that is; their nationality is less "pure" than the peasants` (Pedersen 2009: 67, my translation).

This ideological image of speakers in rural and urban Denmark as associated with, on the one hand, purity, isolation, incivility and lack of education, and, on the other, civilisation, education, moral deprivation and complexity (also Britain forthc.), led Danish dialectology to privilege the study of rural areas. Dialectologists were preoccupied with dialect geography and the mapping of isoglosses, and data emerged from years-long and close collaboration between a fieldworker and an informant. It consisted of observations of linguistic practices and elicitations concerning dialect use, which were later noted down phonetically. This, among other things, resulted in the encyclopedia "Kort over de danske folkemål" ("Maps of the Danish dialects", Bennike & Kristensen 1898-1912). Another preoccupation was dialect lexicography (e.g. Feilberg`s dictionary of Jutlandic dialects (1886-1914), and – much later – jyskordbog.dk). In Copenhagen, the lexicographic collection was formalised in 1909 with the establishment of *Udvalg for Folkemål* ("Committee for Dialects"), a budding of *Foreningen Danske Folkeminder* ("The Danish Folklore association"). The ambition was to make a dialect dictionary of the traditional dialects in Funen, Sealand and surrounding islands, and this work continues to this date with *Ømålsordbogen* ("Dictionary of the Danish Insular Dialects") at the Department of Dialectology, University of Copenhagen (Gudiksen & Hovmark 2009, see also Pedersen 1996b for fuller description). In this way, then, Danish dialects were from the very onset established as historical, linguistic representations of geographically localisable and clearly demarcated places (also Britain forthc.).

On the other hand, dialects were studied from a Neo-grammarian viewpoint with an interest in historical sound changes, not in the individual dialect under study. Dialects were looked upon as a chaotic mess, and the aim was to demonstrate how this chaos was in fact tied to some early

linguistic forms (Gregersen et al. 1994: 165). Thus, the ambition was to create, or establish, historical order of a linguistic mess by tying "the plurality back to unity" (Gregersen et al. 1994: 167). The Neo-grammarian approach did not survive long into the 20th century, and by the 1940s the study of Danish dialects had become a structuralist project.

Whereas the purpose in the Neo-grammarian era was to demonstrate the historical orderliness of linguistic variation, the structuralism perspective focused on the horizontal demarcation of dialects. Individual dialects were looked upon as independent structures, and the aim was to provide detailed descriptions of a dialect and to document how one dialect differed from other dialects. To do so, the standard method of data collection was commutation tests that elicited similarities/differences between different sound systems, but it also built on observation and discussion of everyday practices, including dialect use. Studies (e.g. Bjerrum 1944, Ejskjær 1954) were still founded on years-long collaboration between a researcher and an informant, and they aimed at tracking down genuine dialect forms within a speech community (e.g. Auer et al. 2005). In some European contexts, e.g. in the UK (Britain 2009), dialectological descriptions focused on NORMs – non-mobile, older, rural males – who were considered the most authentic representatives of such speech forms. An informant was therefore representative of a geographic place (Gregersen 2009). Such representations often relied on the speech of one informant only and thus ignored the fact that a particular geographical context consisted of many different speakers and ways of speaking. In Danish dialectology, however, women played a much more prominent part than is implied by the NORM category (e.g. Bjerrum 1944). To be a dialect informant at the time built less on authenticity or speaker resemblance with the traditional dialect and more on the ability to reproduce dialect forms in conversations with researchers. However, the preference for "genuine" dialect forms, along with the continuous dialect levelling, meant that still fewer speakers qualified as traditional dialect speakers. As result, Danish dialectology was, to borrow an expression from Haugen (1970, cited in Pedersen 1996b: 257), by the 1960s a "one foot in the grave dialectology". A renewal of Danish dialectology was therefore necessary. The introduction of variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1972) provided such reorganisation.

Language variation had previously been dismissed in Danish dialectology, but it now became hot topic. Danish sociolinguistics was at first a "quantitative dialectology" (Gregersen 2009: 93). In what follows, I prefer "rural sociolinguistics" to "quantitative dialectology" in order to pin out the

distinction between the research traditions dominating contemporary studies of language use in urban and rural settings, respectively. The introduction of the sociolinguistic interview as a method and of the audio recorder brought about an expanding number of informants. Studies now included large samples of speakers (e.g. Kristensen 1977) with the aim of describing the linguistic characteristics of a dialect in as much detail as possible and how these linguistic characteristics varied among groups of speakers within the same speech community. Studies therefore included a vast variety of lexical, grammatical and phonetic variables (for instance, Jul Nielsen & Nyberg (1988, 1992, 1993) incorporated no less than 37). Whereas a speaker was previously representative of a geographical place, s/he was now considered an individual who could be characterised according to predefined social categories, such as ethnicity, age, gender and social class (Gregersen 2009). Kristensen (1977, 1980) is a prime example of this changing perspective.

Kristensen investigated dialect levelling and code switching in two sociolinguistic studies in the small rural town Vinderup, West Jutland, some 100 kilometres north of Oksbøl. In his first study, he scrutinised dialect levelling for 15 variables among 119 informants and related the realisations of the variables to age, gender and social class. He found that women generally used fewer dialect variants than men, and that dialect use was less widespread among town dwellers, higher social classes and younger speakers than among rural informants, lower social classes and elder speakers (Kristensen 1977: 99). In his second study, he set out to investigate code switching among 24 pupils, aged 13-15, in two different situations: A short, very formal interview and a group conversation with classmates. He did not find evidence for code switching, but found substantial intra-generational geographic and gender related variation corresponding to his first study. In his studies, Kristensen (1977, 1980) described a speech community in which the local dialect was under pressure from Standard Danish, but still remained strong among some speakers. When the Lanchart Centre reinterviewed the 1980-pupils and added another generation of 32 13-15 year-olds in 2006, a real-time study portrayed a very different situation (Schøning & Pedersen 2009). This study documented a decline in the intra-generational dialect use among the elder speakers (also Monka 2013) and a near-extinct dialect use among the youngest generation (however, see Schøning 2010 for a rare case of dialect use among the adolescents). Yet, the sociolinguistic interview turned out to be insufficient to catch local dialect use among the adolescents, as some reported that they incorporated dialect features in conversation with friends and family. Furthermore, whereas the study reports on zero dialect use among the youngsters, it actually contained a few dialect features.

Due to the quantitative method, unfortunately, these did not figure in the final results. This paved the ground for another approach to present-day dialect use.

This section has outlined three important issues that hold epistemological, methodological, theoretical and analytical consequences for the present study. First, it underlines how the study of Danish dialects has always been a historical project. Its ambition is the last-minute preservation and documentation of endangered speech forms. The focus on historicity is particularly clear in data collection methods as informants were often found among elder speakers, and today, the continuous work on the "Dictionary of the Danish Insular Dialects" is a heritage project informing of how past everyday practices were named in rural parts of Denmark. Second, dialects have been and continue to be studied as quantifiable static systems measured against other such systems in a continuum. This has two implications: a) as exemplified in Kristensen (1977, 1980), the static system at the other end of the continuum is most often that of Copenhagen-based Standard Danish (e.g. Juel Jensen & Maegaard 2012, Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992, Maegaard 2001, Monka 2013, Monka & Hovmark forthc., Petersen 2013, Schøning & Pedersen 2009). As the standardisation of speech forms dominates in every part of Denmark (see introduction in chapter 7), this approach, once again, reinforces dialect as a practice belonging to the past (also Britain forthc. for similar argument). In so doing, though, it may also support and bolster the ideological perception of Copenhagen speech as the speech practice of the future and, subsequently, as a "requisite for social advancement" (Agha 2007: 191, see chapters 7 and 8, Schøning forthc.). b) When we repeatedly treat dialect use in just one way, we diminish whatever knowledge we can possibly deduce from the study of dialect employment. As consequence, we iterate the same story about Danish dialects and erase others. This is a key point in chapter 6. Third, quantitative dialect studies are invariably linked to rural Denmark and inform of rural speech practices persisting among speakers in and around small provincial towns such as Vinderup or Bylderup (e.g. Kristensen 1977, Monka & Hovmark forthc.). As the past decades have witnessed the continuous repetition of the variationist approach, this has become standard when investigating language variation and change in the countryside.

The Vinderup studies demonstrate a need to redirect or rethink how we understand and work with dialect use. The studies display the rapid and all-pervading standardisation process in Denmark during the 20th century. We have now come to the very standard end of the continuum in which the distribution of the local dialect variants is so scarce and infrequent that quantitative, rural

sociolinguistic descriptions to a large extent have played their part. Thus, the few dialect remains risk being ignored and left out in variationist studies, as in Schøning & Pedersen (2009) above. But rather than turning a blind eye and ignoring them, we need to acknowledge that near-extinct dialect variants still play a role in contemporary Denmark, and that they are viable social resources from which we may still learn a thing or two about contemporary society regarding standardisation processes, social inequality and struggle (Schøning forthc.). So, to avoid another round of "one foot in the grave dialectology" – or, probably in more concert with present-day dialect use, "both feet in the grave dialectology" – we need to start out from another perspective in which dialect features are not static, denotational forms, but late-modern social practices with an interactional function immersed with ideology. Recent developments in urban sociolingusitics provide such framework.

2.2 Urban sociolinguistics: Language as emergent social resources

The present era of globalisation is characterised by an unprecedented flow of cultural, economic and human resources (Coupland 2010). This intensified mobility has led to growing societal tensions and social complexities, which muddle and challenge dominant understandings of social processes and practices (e.g. Blommaert 2005, 2010, Blommaert & Rampton 2011). These challenges have been explicitly addressed in recent decades with the emergence of concepts such as translanguaging, polylanguaging, metrolingualism and crossing (Blackledge & Creese 2010, García & Li Wei 2014, Jørgensen 2010, Jørgensen et al. 2011, Møller 2009, Otsuji & Pennycook 2010, 2014, Rampton 1995, see Jaspers & Madsen 2016 for description and discussion of the concepts and their descriptive, theoretical, pedagogical and political characteristics and applicabilities). These concepts developed in work on contact situations in urban areas, such as Birmingham, London, Copenhagen and Sidney. They reflect the "business as usual"-nature of hybrid linguistic practices (e.g. Møller 2009). Such speech practices, it is therefore claimed, are "a starting point rather than an end product" (Otsuji & Pennyccok 2014: 85). Structuralist and variationist approaches to languages as static, denotational forms, on the other hand, are seen as inadequate (Jaspers & Madsen 2016) to descriptively and theoretically explain the complexity of contemporary sociolinguistic conditions, because they miss out the fluidity and creativity of contemporary speech practices (e.g. Otsuji & Pennycook 2014). The concepts therefore attempt to deconstruct notions of languages as discrete entities and state that languages boxed into separate categories are ideological artefacts, often developed in tandem with the creation of nation states (Makoni & Pennycook 2006: 1, Ag & Jørgensen 2012, see section 2.1) and maintained by gatekeeping institutions such as the

educational system (e.g. Jørgensen 2010, Blackledge & Creese 2010, also chapter 7). The emergence of these new concepts illustrates a paradigm shift within sociolinguistics (Blommaert & Rampton 2011). The underlying assumptions are that 1) languages are socially constructed resources (e.g. Blommaert 2010), and that 2) speakers use linguistic features rather than languages, an activity called "languaging" (Jørgensen 2010: 182). Languaging refers to the fact that speakers, languagers, "use whatever linguistic features are at their disposal, regardless of their ideological ascription to separate categories (but not disregarding these ascriptions which may be important for the creation of meaning in the situation)" (ibid). Languaging characterises all language users and all communicative events, and it highlights how linguistic usage is always carried out with the aim of achieving a specific communicative goal (Jørgensen et al. 2011, see Madsen et al. 2016b: 9-13 for further description). Blommaert (2010: 102) points out that this changing perspective opens up a more dynamic perception of linguistic usage. This is illustrated in Jørgensen´s (2010) account of the emergence of poly-languaging in the Køge Project (see Jørgensen 2010 for overview of the project and findings).

This project was a longitudinal study of bilingualism among a cohort of Turkish-Danish school children in 1989-1998 in Køge, a provincial town just outside the Copenhagen metropolitan area (see also Møller 2009). The aim was to investigate how bilingualism affected children`s academic success, and, vice versa, how the educational system, as being strongly influenced by a monolingual norm (e.g. Ag & Jørgensen 2012, Madsen et al. 2016b: 10), stereotyping bilingual speakers as deficient language users, affected bilingual speech practices. Interviews with the students and task oriented group conversations among the cohort over the course of nine years documented a radical transformation of the students` speech practices. Whereas Turkish dominated during the first years, Danish later took over. Furthermore, over the years the students increasingly juxtaposed features ideologically belonging to different languages. Whereas, at first, a Danish loanword could fill a gap in a school context, when the students were short of a Turkish equivalent, the ways the students code-switched became increasingly more eloquent and sophisticated. Microanalyses demonstrated a situated automaticity in these switches devoid of any orientation to which features belonged to what language, suggesting that rather than using languages, the students employed linguistic features (also Jørgensen et al. 2011: 29). For the analysts it therefore became exceedingly difficult to distinguish and categorise words, sounds or morphemes from one another (e.g. Jørgensen 2010: 490, also Møller 2009: 115). This resulted in a growing unease to count and categorise the linguistic

features among the researchers (e.g. Madsen et al. 2016b: 9), because such moves tend to reproduce the fallacy of an ideologically hegemonic monolingual norm, which is not reflected in actual linguistic behaviour (Jørgensen et al. 2011: 27). Jørgensen (2010) refers to such linguistic practice as "polylanguaging", that is; a linguistic "behaviour which does not belong [to any language], but only to their combination – to the poly-lingual practice" (Jørgsen 2010: 183). The following example from the Køge Project, quoted from Jørgensen et al. (2011: 25), is illustrative of such behaviour:

Michael	hvor er der noget lim	where is there some glue
	hernede et eller andet sted	somewhere here
Esen	**eine limesteife**	**a gluestick**
	[li:mestajfe]	

In response to Michael´s request for a glue stick, Esen provides the construction "eine limesteife". Some of the linguistic features in the constellation are easily enough categorised as either German or Danish: "eine" is a German indefinite article, whereas in the compound "limesteife", there are two Danish features: the noun "lim" and the morpheme "e", a normal Danish compound marker. Thus, these linguistic features illustrate speech norms associated with German and Danish languages, respectively. However, the second part of the compound, "steife", is ascribable to neither Danish nor German, but plays both on the Danish word "stift" ("stick") and the German "-ei-" combination, as in "beine", "deine" (see also Møller 2009: 54). As result, the compound seems to adhere to a speech norm that does not comply with monolingual norms. Jørgensen (2010) defines such norm the "poly-lingualism norm" (Jørgensen 2010: 145), and speakers orient to this norm when they

> employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages; this entails that the language users may know - and use - the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together. (Jørgensen 2010: 145)

The insistence on a "language as coherent entities" perspective would be unable to explain, much less comprehend, such practices, and in the quoted example above, the sophisticated linguistic competences reflected in the construction of "eine limesteife" would be lost. Still, as a Danish

imitation of (mock) German, the pronunciation of "steife" may index German to a Danish speaker, despite not falling under the category of ideologically genuine German (for similar examples see Jørgensen 2010: 495-512, Jørgensen et al. 2011: 24-26, Møller 2009). This suggests that the ideological notions of German among Danes remain important aspects in Esen´s poly-lingual activity.

The impact of the Køge Project on Danish urban sociolinguistics has been very significant (Madsen et al. 2013: 3), and it has fostered an ongoing research collaboration, The Everyday Languaging Project, which studies the daily lives among inner-city Copenhagen minority children and youth in and out of a public school (see Madsen et al. 2013, Madsen et al. 2016a for descriptions). The ambition is to "investigate how urban children and youth construct, reactivate, negotiate, contest and navigate between different linguistic and sociocultural norms and resources" (Madsen et al. 2013: 1). The researchers approach this by using a variety of different means of data collection and from a vast variety of perspectives. Among other things, the researchers unearth how the young Copenhageners treat macro-societal stigmatising discourses (e.g. Møller 2011), how notions of ethnicity are negotiated and made relevant (e.g. Nørreby 2012, Nørreby & Møller 2015), how social media affect their daily lives and manufacture circulations of resources from popular culture in on- and offline settings (e.g. Stæhr 2014), how the employment of linguistic features associated with "Street language" and "Integrated" inform understandings of macro-structural power relations in Denmark (e.g. Madsen 2013), and how language norms are negotiated in the private spheres of minority families (e.g. Ag & Jørgensen 2012, for more studies see contributions in Madsen et al. 2016a). The project builds on two significant insights: 1) theoretically that speakers use features, not languages, that is; that they are languagers, and methodologically that the study of linguistic features requires attention to linguistic structure, pragmatic effect and ideology combined. 2) That studies of linguistic practices must be empirically grounded. Since 2009, the studies have been carried out as extensive team ethnography (also Blackledge & Creese 2010), stressing the impact of the empirical grounding of the individual studies in line with Linguistic Ethnography (e.g. Rampton et al. 2015) and Interactional Sociolinguistics (e.g. Rampton 2006).

2.3 The reproduction of the ideological split in rural and urban sociolinguistics

Rural and urban research traditions contribute to a reproduction of the urban-rural dichotomy, which thematises rural and urban linguistic practices in strikingly different ways: In rural

sociolinguistics, linguistic features – that is; variants – are representative of systems and segregated entities – variables. Urban sociolinguistics, in contrast, treat social practices, including language use, as ideological and interactional phenomena from ethnographic and micro-analytical perspectives (e.g. Rampton 2006) highlighting their instability and fluidity (e.g. Otsuji & Pennycook 2010). A similar social-practice approach to linguistic performance is generally less dominant, or absent even, in studies focusing on rural areas (e.g. Monka & Hovmark forthc.).

This project contributes to an increasingly growing discussion of the urban-rural dichotomy within sociolinguistic studies of globalisation (e.g. Blommaert 2005, 2009, 2010, Britain 2009, Multilingual Margins 2015 vol. 1, Mutsaers & Swanenberg 2012, Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013b, Pietikäinen et al. forthc., Sultana et al. 2013, Wang et a. 2013). Here, a recurrent issue is the existence of an "urban bias" (e.g. Varis & Wang 2011, Wang et al. 2013) within sociolinguistics, a bias fostered by an extensive focus on inner-city contact situations (e.g. Blackledge & Creese 2010, Rampton, 1995, 2006, 2015, Madsen 2015ab, Madsen et al. 2016a, Møller 2009, Quist 2012, Stæhr 2014), leaving less densely populated areas, along with the social practices and norms residing there, in the dark. Recent studies, however, focus on power relations between urban centres and rural peripheries (e.g. Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013a) and attempt to remedy the bias by setting out to give voice to groups of speakers and practices that are normally silenced by urban/centrist perspectives. These studies propose that rural areas are not significantly different from their urban counterparts, but are sites of conflict and social, normative struggles, which are equally hybrid (e.g. contributions in Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013a, Mutsaers & Swanenberg 2012).

The following two episodes support this point. They exemplify instances of languaging among the Oksbøl adolescents, and that this practice is characteristic of contemporary, rural language practises in many ways similar to what has been reported in studies of contemporary urban linguistic practices (e.g. Jørgensen et al. 2011, Madsen 2015a, Møller 2009). In the first example, Anders, Thomas and Tobias play League of Legends online. This computer game was immensely popular among some of the adolescents, especially boys. The example sets off, when the boys negatively describe an opponent player who just "wasted his ult" and who is thus deemed stupid (line 6). "Ult", ultimate, is a champion´s ability skill, and to waste one`s ultimate means to perform poorly and not to use the champion´s fighting ability satisfactorily.

Extract 2.1: He wasted his ult (7:10-7:19)

Participants: Anders (recording), Thomas, Tobias

01	Anders	lo:l fuck han **wastede** sit	lo:l na he **wasted** his **ult**
02		**ult** der	then
03	Tobias	**waster** han **ult** når han er i	does he **waste** his **ult** when he
04		sit {**town**}	is in his {**town**}
05	Thomas	[nej	[nej
06	Anders	[fuck han er dum mand	[na he is stupid man
07	Thomas	ja xxx stop	yes xxx stop
08	Ander	nej nu smadrer jeg **minions**	no now I wreck **minions tower**
09		**tower** tror jeg og nu får	I think and now Tobias gets
10		Tobias også slag	beaten as well
11		lo:l fuck han **wastede** sit	lo:l na he **wasted** his
12		**ult**	**ult**

The example illustrates bits of English-based League of Legends-terminology, e.g. "minions" (small computer controlled items serving the champion) and "tower" (a champion´s base) (other examples being "jeg har mange kills" ("I have got many kills" – literally "I have killed many"), "din noob" ("you noob" – an inexperienced or bad player)), and how the use of such features is business-as-usual among the boys. It also illustrates how the boys combine features associated with English and Danish, but which – in their combination – can´t be ascribed to either language. This is, in Jørgensen` (2010) terms, polylanguaging and is exemplified in "wastede"/"waster", which combines an English verb with Danish past and present tense morphemes *–ede* and *–r* (similar examples in the online gaming data are: "jeg stunner den" ("I stun" – to debuff or stun an enemy), "hun bliver nerfet" ("she gets nerfed" – when a champion officially looses some of its damage ability), "jeg recaller" ("I recall" – to teleport back to the base), "jeg nukede dem" ("I nuked them" – to cause great damage)).

The episode demonstrates how the boys engage in computer-mediated activities, and how this frame facilitates the simultaneous use of different semiotic resources and linguistic features and provides access to linguistic practices that transgress, and presumably make irrelevant, structural perceptions of ´languages`. However, the hybrid practices are not restricted to global phenomena such as online computer gaming, but they are also characteristic of other types of data. In the second episode, a

group of adolescents are supposed to read a German text during German class (see also extract 7.8 for broader contextualisation of the example). Here, the impossibility of ascribing linguistic features to specific languages becomes highly salient, because most linguistic activities in the episode are incomprehensible:

Extract 2.2: Auto (1:21-1:30)

Participants: Anne, Kim, Martin, Mikkel, Tobias

01	Mikkel	auto [auto vus matjøv die
02	Anne	[((laughs))
03	Mikkel	auf die jøumen und mashen (0.6)
04		fa[juha:
05	Ane	[ej shit
06	All	[((laugh))
07	Kim	[krøut mushøn ((laughs))
08	Mikkel	{and} øh {and} øh and
09		den die sprogforsker ((language researcher))

Comment on transcription: German intonation, Chinese intonation

While the main part of the episode is unintelligible, several individual features can be identified as associated with Danish ("ej", "sprogforsker" ("oi", "language researcher")), English ("shit", "and"), German ("auto", "die", "auf", "und", "den") and what sounds like a Chinese imitation (to a Danish ear, that is), but without adding to the comprehensibility. Still, there are several linguistic hints at what the linguistic activities are supposed to index: The dominant German intonation and the overweight of German adverbs and personal pronouns in a context of reading aloud a German text suggest that what goes on is the performance of mock-German. So, while the linguistic activities are unintelligible, the communicative function is clear, and the incomprehensibility is a key point in achieving a specific interactional goal (for similar examples see, e.g. Madsen 2008: 180 ("Polylingual behaviour"), Møller 2009: 126-128 for examples of mock Spanish and mock German): The mock-reading of a German text, and, hence, the rejection of the school activity (see extract 7.8).

The lack of attention to social practices and social resources employed in rural areas leaves the impression of a scholarly dismissal of parts of the world as backward, irrelevant, static and

traditional, a point repeatedly elaborated on in Britain`s work (e.g. 2009, 2010, forthc.). He discusses the consequences of the bias and points out that in sociolinguistics, this leads to the throwing out of "the rural baby (…) with the traditional dialectological bathwater" (Britain 2010: 144). Thus, contemporary sociolinguistics upholds an ideological distinction between the urban and the rural through the focus on urban contexts, only. According to Britain (forthc.) this ideological distinction builds on two different "gazes", a rural and an urban, founded on longstanding societal ideologies, which steer what we see and what we don´t. The rural, Britain (forthc.) says, is looked upon as an idyll (also Woods 2011): It is tranquil, scenic and traditional, but it is also uncivilised, barren, uneducated and isolated. This gaze prevents scholars from understanding and examining urban areas as static and isolated. The urban, in contrast, is on the one hand associated with disorder, crime and alienation. On the other, it is a vibrant, innovative and (super)diverse cultural melting pot (Britain forthc). Consequently, interpreting the urban as the birthplace of social innovation and sociolinguistic change means that scholars generally do not look for sociolinguistic innovations in rural areas. However, if they do, Britain (forthc.) points out, they examine how urban speech practices impact rural speech practices. In a Danish context this applies, for instance, to the continuous juxtaposition of rural linguistic practices with Standard Danish in order to document the process of standardisation and dialect loss (e.g. Juel Jensen & Maegaard 2012). Subsequently, social practices in rural areas seem to be of less interest and to be less affected by globalisation (see, however, Blommaert 2005, 2009, 2010, Peitikaïnen & Kelly-Holmes 2013b). What is thus being reproduced by scholarly traditions is the constant ideological othering of the rural in urban sociolinguistics, because hybrid and innovative social practices examined in urban settings are associated with city-life ("urban vernacular") and the late-modern urban speakers ("contemporary youth"). To work around this ideological gap, this project employs methodologies and epistemological stances developed in studies of urban sociolinguistics, as described above. Several studies within this line of work take a Linguistic Ethnography approach (e.g. Blackledge & Creese 2010, Madsen et al. 2016, Rampton 2006, Snell 2015).

2.4 The Linguistic Ethnography approach

The present project positions within the confines of Linguistic Ethnography (e.g. Rampton et al. 2004, also Harris & Rampton 2014, contributions in Madsen et al. 2016a and in Snell et al. 2015). Linguistic Ethnographic (henceforward LE) takes as its starting points 1) that linguistic practices and social life intertwine and are mutually shaping, and 2) that social meaning emerges from and

"takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes" (Rampton et al. 2015: 18). The aim of LE is to unveil how everyday practices are embedded in and informative of wider socio-cultural contexts and larger social structures (Shaw et al. 2015: 7). Rampton (2006) is a classical example of how ideological perceptions of class structures are reproduced, contested and reflexively commented on in everyday encounters among Inner-London youth. He examines collections of interactional use of stylised posh and Cockney and finds that the adolescents employ these registers when they rebel against being put down by a teacher, when they try to manage transitions between school work and play, and when they orient towards the opposite sex and sexuality, to mention a few examples. They rework and elaborate on the indexical and ideological inferences implied through such use. As result, the stylisations of posh and Cockney point to the reproduction of a "cultural semantic" (Rampton 2006: 343) between high/low and mind/body, which is reflexive of larger class-structures. The present project is heavily indebted to the many theoretical insights presented in Rampton`s work (e.g. 2006, 2007, 2009) and heavily inspired by the methodological grounding of his Inner-London study.

LE rests on two basic tenets: 1) that the relation between the inherently micro and the inherently macro "should be investigated rather than assumed" (Rampton 2007: 585). A famous dictum concerning LE is therefore that linguistics ties ethnography down while ethnography opens up linguistics (e.g. Rampton 2007: 596, Rampton et al. 2004, 2015). This means that linguistics provides for ethnography to be empirically grounded, analytically focused and topic-oriented. Conversely, ethnography situates linguistic performance at the heart of social processes and enables researchers to see links between situated linguistic employments and large-scale processes and ideologies. One benefit of such approach is that it "resist[s] the perceived empirical rigour, neatness and certainty of linguistic analysis" (Shaw et al. 2015: 8). To do so, however, 2) requires detailed analyses of everyday encounters and routine communication. Such close analysis of the mundane may help to pin down and explain subtle everyday activities and processes, which can be difficult to reconcile and ground, let alone apprehend, because they are more or less invisible. The focus is therefore to set up "analytical distance on what´s close-at-hand" (Rampton 2007: 586) and to step back from what is immediately familiar. This thesis exploits how adolescents operate within the confines of language standardisation and dialect loss and of the urban-rural dichotomy (Britain 2009, forthc.) and how they project ideological understandings of the urban and the rural, as they come to constitute and reinforce one another. It goes without saying that the urban and the rural are

highly distinctive entities "that trigger very distinct images and attitudes" (Britain 2009: 224), and it is not difficult to pin out how they differ. For instance, in terms of population densities and descriptions of scenery (fields, marshes, woodlands and farms in contrast to roads, parks and shops and multi-storey buildings ect.), and ideological perceptions of how the urban and the rural constitute different life conditions (e.g. Henningsen 2006). In that sense, the task of this thesis is a relatively simple one, because the difference between the rural and the urban is easily recognisable, and it is a condition for contemporary life (see chapter 3 for more detail). However, this raises the question of how speakers arrive at such ideological interpretation, and the pinning down of such ideological apprehensions turns out to be much more challenging and complex. In subsequent chapters, we see how the Oksbøl adolescents reanimate, contest, reflexively comment on and position within these ideological structures.

Language and linguistic practices are means to uncover such ideological processes and practices (Rampton 2007: 591), and studies within LE therefore work from micro-analyses of linguistic practices outwards to grand social processes and institutions (e.g. Rampton et al. 2004: 11, Harris & Rampton 2014). The micro-analysis focuses on the moment-by-moment unfolding of social interaction. To carry out the micro-analyses in subsequent chapters, I asked

- What social activity is going on?
- What do the participants do?
- How do they do this?
- What social roles and/or positions are activated?
- How are the social activities and social roles in one context similar to/different from other contexts?
- How do they add on to larger social processes?

This foregrounds analytical emphasis on "slowness" and "smallness" (Rampton et al. 2015: 34), and on systemticity across sets of data. This is what Rampton (2006) does when he scrutinises class structures in Inner-London. In order to propose that class is of relevance, he looks across several data episodes for emerging patterns of social class. In subsequent chapters, I similarly build my interpretations on analysis of large collections of data. Such approach hinders, or so I presume, subjective interpretations.

LE has been characterised as an umbrella term (e.g. Rampton et al. 2004, see Shaw et al. 2015 for an attempt to remedy this fluffy description). It is an interdisciplinary approach (see contributions in Snell et al. 2015), and as such, it is an attempt to overcome methodological shortcomings of individual research traditions (e.g. Shaw et al. 2015: 7). For instance, the present project combines quantitative sociolinguistics (chapters 5 and 6), interactional sociolinguistics (Rampton 2006) and ethnography (see Snell 2010, 2015, forthc. for similar combination). I use the terminologies typical of both quantitative and qualitative sociolinguistics. I operate with variants and variables in chapter 5, whereas, in chapters 6-8, I operate with registers and linguistic features. The former terminology underlines an ideological appreciation of linguistic usage as free of interactional context and ideology (despite this apprehension, in itself, being an ideological construction) and in which language and social structures are of a "´separate-but-connected` correlation" (Ramton et al. 2015: 28). The latter, contrastly, reflexts that language use is contextualised, immersed with ideology and part and parcel of the construction of social structures. This terminology underscores how speakers "are continuously vulnerable to a reflexive process of low-key socio-ideological observation and coding, in ways that are far more enacted than declared" (Rampton et al. 2015: 28-29). I retain these terminologies to underline how different research traditions and research ideologies connect and broaden each other. Thus, LE is, to borrow the characterisation from Rampton (2007),

> a site of encounter where a number of established lines of research interact, pushed together by circumstance, open to the recognition of new affinities, and sufficiently familiar with one another to treat differences with equanimity (Rampton 2007: 586)

LE is a perspective often taken in urban studies. Consequently, it seems a useful approach when Britain (forthc.) argues that the urban and the rural ideological gazes, which constitute urban and rural sociolinguistics and which "propel" us to investigate "rural and urban areas in certain and distinctive ways", "prevent us from looking at these landscapes in ways that would be innovative, productive, and significantly add to our understanding of what is possible as language varies and changes" (Britain forthc.). This may help us rethink our perceptions of the urban-rural dichotomy, so that the urban and rural are not just oppositional and dissimilar, they are also alike and share similarities. What we see in subsequent chapters is how the rural adolescents carry out social activities mirroring social activities documented among urban youth, and what differs are different register ranges (Agha 2007: 146, also extracts 2.1 and 2.2 above): Whereas studies of inner-city

contact situations report on the substantial use of, for instance, Creole, Indian English and Punjabi (Rampton 1995, 2011), Turkish (Jørgensen 2010) or Arabic (Karrebæk 2016), such features are hardly ever used by the Oksbøl adolescents. In 33 hours of audio recording, I have come across one instance of Indian English (a parodic representation of Apu, the Kwik-E-Mart owner in The Simpsons – "thank you and come again") and a small handful of mock Arabic (e.g. indexing a terrorist attack). The Oksbøl adolescents instead employ linguistic features associated with many different types of Danish, but also with, for instance, English and German (see also section 4.4).

Chapter 3: Situating Oksbøl

Near the North Sea in South Western Jutland, surrounded by vast heathlands, marshes, moorland plantages and sand, one finds the small town Oksbøl. It is the centre of a large rural area covering 222.80 km2. With a population of approximately 4.500 the area is not very densely populated, and most inhabitants cluster around Oksbøl (2877) and the small villages Vrøgum and Ho. In summer, however, this number is multiplied when Danish, German and Scandinavian tourists temporarily reside in the thousands of holiday homes in and around the nearby seaside settlements Vejers and Blåvand. Here many local residents, including adolescents, find employment as sales assistants and in cafes and restaurants and as (un)skilled labour maintaining the many holiday homes in the area. While the area is nationally well-known for attracting many tourists, it is also famous for housing the large military camp, Oksbøllejren. Here soldiers from other Danish barracks go for specialised training, e.g. before being stationed in warzones internationally. In an interview with Ditte, Ane´s mother, she stresses the significance of both the military camp and tourism: "det er lejren vi er kendt for (.) og selvfølgelig turisme" ("we are known for the camp (.) and tourism of course"). And, as a local West Jutlander coming from an inland agricultural environment some 25 kilometres East of Oksbøl, I grew up finding the area – with its scenery, the overall presence of the military and the many tourists – to be of a distinctive – and exotic – nature. This is where I set out to do six months of ethnographic fieldwork in 2011-2012.

The aim of this chapter is to situate Oksbøl. First, in relation to the fieldwork (section 3.1), then in descriptions of the social groups among my participants (section 3.2), and how I was positioned in relation to the field (section 3.3) and finally I describe the data (section 3.4). Second, in relation to how the adolescents situated their local area relative to larger socio-political discourses, which continuously reconstruct negative social value ascriptions and, hence, ideologies to rural Denmark. This forms the major part of this chapter. Section 3.5 presents such political and public ideologies, and how they may come to have very real consequences when growing up in a rural area. Section 3.6 nuances this point and illustrates how these are traceable in the adolescents` characteristics of the local area and in their presentations of future life trajectories. What we see is that the adolescents reproduce "established ideologies" (Rampton 2006: 225-226, 313-314, see section 1.2) and, consequently, project considerable disaffiliation from Oksbøl and local life prospects.

3.1 Field description

The ethnographic data for this project builds on fieldwork among 66 13-15 year-olds at the local youth club, Samuelsgården, and at the local school, Blåvandshuk Skole, but also in their homes, at parties and pizza places, at outside meeting areas in the local area and on Facebook. During fieldwork I focused on 1) social practices, including linguistic practice, and social relations among the adolescents (section 3.2), 2) youth conditions in and constructions of late-modernity and globalisation in a rural – and politically and economically constructed (see section 3.4) – periphery. I structured the fieldwork so as to make it comparable to an ethnographic project being carried out at an ethnically and culturally heterogeneous Inner-Copenhagen school with high proportions of minority speakers (Madsen et al. 2016b). In contrast to the Copenhagen context, 62 out of the 66 adolescents in Oksbøl had majority Danish backgrounds. The remaining four had one Danish parent and a parent from another Northern European country.

I initiated the ethnography at the youth club. The reason for doing so was that I believed first-hand knowledge of me in this context would enable a more even relationship between me (as an adult) and the adolescents, than had they first met me within the more authoritative confines of the school. Samulesgården was open for 12-18 year-olds every night from Monday to Thursday and presented its users with a vast variety of social activities: Monthly hunting and fishing trips, ice skating trips and trips to a nearby speedway track, just to mention a few. It also hosted lan parties (computer parties) twice a year, and it arranged annual skiing holidays to the Czech Republic and summer holidays to a cabin in Sweden. The club had its own music studio, including music instruments, and an engine workshop, including motor cross bikes, a large workshop for needlework and a small animal farm. On an average night, adolescents played computer games or playstation in one of the two computer rooms, watched television, played snooker or board games in the living room, cooked in the kitchen, played sports, especially football, in one of the two sports pits (one indoor and one outdoor), rehearsed small sketches in the performance group or hung out chatting at the food counter. In the year 2011/2012, the club had more than 150 paying members, and many of my participants reported on frequenting the club on an almost nightly basis. Frank, one of the club workers told me that one ambition of the club was to provide local youth with a vast variety of learning possibilities in order to prepare them for adult life. Another was to provide the foundation for a strong, inclusive and engaging local social community, so that youngsters would want to meet up at the club rather than (to stay) at home. My impression was that adults and adolescents alike

took pride in the club and cared about its well-being. It was repeatedly projected as exceptional and unique, both regionally and nationally, both by users and adult personnel, but also by local residents. For instance, when I planned the project and looked for a fieldwork site, a family member living in the Oksbøl area suggested that I had a look at Samuelsgården. "It´s unique and you won´t find another place like it", she said. When I later visited the club as part of my preparation for the project and was given a two-hour tour around the premises, the administrative leader did not hide his pride in the institution or what it offered, both to its young users, but also to the local community as a whole. Also, when I grew up in the wider local area in the 1990s, Samuelsgården was renowned among me and my friends. As we did not have a similar club to go to, we envied the Oksbøl adolescents` their luck, especially that they had access to a music studio.

I focused my attention on the 13-15 year-olds, that is eighth graders, for two reasons: First, I wanted to come across as many different youngsters as possible within a single year group, and second – and in relation to the first reason – that I believed that the adolescents were still largely focused on local life in grade eight. For instance, while they were asked to consider their future life perspectives in the middle of grade eight, the topic of what to do and where to go after having completed school would only intensify in their final year, grade nine. Moreover, my initial impression was that many would go to boarding school during grade nine. This impression turned out to be true: The three grade eight classes shrunk to two grade nine classes the following year. Luckily, most eighth graders often attended Samuelsgården, so that when I started doing fieldwork at the school after two months of fieldwork at Samuelsgården, I was already familiar with most students. Blåvandshuk Skole is the only school in the area, and, as result, it serves a large area. In the year 2011/2012, students came from as far as Ho (11 kilometres) and Stausø (14 kilometres). I carried out fieldwork in all three classes, but as I planned to include four focal participants, and as three of these went to the same class, I focused on the social relations in this one in particular.

3.2 The social environment among 13-15 year-olds

I was especially interested in social groupings among the year group – who did what with whom, how and where – and I soon noticed three distinctive groups across the cohort. These, by and large, formed the social landscape among the adolescents, and they characterised different ways of handling the transition between childhood and adulthood (also Eckert 1989, 2000). The adolescents attached particular characteristics and names to the groups, which gained their distinctive

characteristics in opposition to the other two (e.g. Bucholtz 2011, Eckert 2000). One was the school-ambitious and "alternative" group labelled "old-fashioned" or "egen stil" ("own/individual style"). It was a small mixed-gender group dominated by girls who excelled in academic contexts, e.g. one of the girls had taught herself Japanese – a highly admired endeavour among her peers, but still perceived as a particularly asocial activity – and who stood out in terms of music tastes and clothing styles: Some of them listened to "old" music, such as Nirvana, Green Day, Pearl Jam, and some of them wore large shirts with check patterns and t-shirts with political statements or band names, or second-hand items. During school breaks, they stayed in class reading the Twilight saga or classics such as "1984" or "Brave New World". Twilight fans were often subject to (good-humoured) mockery, for instance in parodic discussions of associatings with either Team Edward or Team Jacob (implying taking a fancy to one the two male protagonists). The adolescents described the Twilight universe as childish, but despite publicly flagging their Twilight interest, the "egen stil" girls were not mocked, perhaps because they read these books in English. Contrasting this group was the larger Bad group. Again, this was a mixed-gender group, but boys dominated. The adolescents associated with this group were generally school-tired, cut classes, smoked and drank. Similarly to the former group, they also stood out physically with their caps and black Royal tracksuit trousers (see chapter 7 for fuller description). However, most adolescents filled out the landscape in-between these two groups. This social category was referred to as "Semi", but category affiliation was – in contrast to the other groups – not particularly marked or uniform.

The data for this project primarily consist of audio recordings of everyday activities among the adolescents. Parts of these data consist of self-recordings made by four focal participants: Two boys, Anders and Søren, and two girls, Ane and Marie. The aim of including focal participants was to obtain data from outside of school and club contexts that could supplement the data recordings conducted in institutional settings. In choosing four focal participants, I moreover aimed at participants who represented different categories within the social landscape. This approach was only partly successful, as most adolescents were more than willing to be recorded and wear recording equipment in school and club contexts, but they were a lot more reluctant when it came to being responsible for the recordings themselves. For example, the boys associated with the Bad group were always very keen on being recorded at school or at the club, but whenever I asked them to bring the recorder home with them, they refused. My impression was that this task simply resembled too much of a school activity (see section 7.4.4.2).

3.3 Taking a fieldworker position

Within this social climate I took part not just as an ethnographer, but also as an individual who took a liking to the field and felt comfortable among the adolescents. This section describes my attempts to position myself within the field as a competent participant and how, as someone who grew up in the area, my predispositions affected my gaze and the questions I asked.

The key element in the ethnography was to understand social alignment and social positions from a youth perspective. To do so, I aimed at participating in the everyday activities in ways similar to the adolescents` and to establish good contact with them. Here, two very obvious obstacles were the facts that I was no adolescent, and that my presence in the field to a large extent relied on my good relations to the adults who formed the adolescents` personal and institutional life. To overcome these obstacles, I spent all my time with the adolescents and tried to steer free of adult practices: In both school and youth club I never used the adult toilets or had cups of tea or coffee, despite daily offerings. When I started doing ethnography at school, the well-intended teachers would offer me a chair in front of the entire class. “In that way you can keep an eye on everything that goes on”, they argued. Luckily, there was always a free seat among the adolescents, and in the focus class I ended up having my own seat next to Martin and Emilie. I tried to stay out of the administrative offices, and unlike other adults, I always had lunch in the classroom. On the few occasions when (unpopular) teachers tried to make me side with them during conflicts with students, or when a male club worker tried to make fun of a group of young girls, I took a distance. Moreover, I tried not to take expert or authoritative positions by telling the adolescents how to behave or reprimand them, for instance if they told me of any mischiefs. And, as I held no power over them, the question is if such behaviour on my behalf would have had any effect.

As result, the adolescents characterised me as an odd adult (e.g. Gulløv & Højlund 2003: 105). This description was confirmed on several occasions, for instance, when teachers mistook me for a student, or when a club worker reprimanded Anders, Anne and me for being too noisy. Consequently, many adolescents allowed me to be part of their worlds. We often discussed how I handled confidentiality and anonymity, or they would ask me how I would deal with problems with authoritative figures, heartbreaks, gossip or fall-outs with friends. On more than one occasion, they used me as a messenger if they had to break bad news to the adults surrounding them, or if, as on one occasion, they had had a dangerous, and self-inflicted, accident with which they needed help,

but were afraid to ask, because the truth would most definitely get them into trouble. The adults accepted my position, and the club workers saw the adolescents` confidence in me as a useful resource. For example, when he presented me to the new club administrator, Frank described me as a "ungekonsulent" ("youth counsellor") with inside knowledge about the adolescents. This alleged knowledge made Frank and his colleagues sometimes ask my opinion on current issues and/or conflicts among the adolescents or my views on the organisation of the club and its users, for instance if smoking should be banned from the premises to prevent others from taking up the habit (see section 7.4.4.2).

This does not mean, however, that all adolescents were equally interested in me and in the project. Generally, I found it to be significantly easier to get in contact with and establish good relations with girls than with boys. This gender bias no doubt emanated from the fact that I remembered what it was like being a 14 year old girl and recognised and related to the social practices involved in this construction. And as a female researcher in her early thirties, I was not ascribed particular high social status among some of the boys, because I was not projected as a skilful participant in prestigious social activities. This was evident in relation to computer gaming and football, two highly gendered social practices. Most boys spent a substantial amount of time doing both, whereas girls did not, and girls were generally projected as unskilled or unwilling practitioners by boys (see for instance Figure 5.1). This was, among other things, evident when girls tried to play football at the club. On most nights, a bunch of boys would play football on the outside football pitch, often joined by a small group of girls, myself included. We would often team up boys against girls, and despite the boys not always winning, they would often agree to go light on the girls. One night most visitors at the club joined a game of football, and once more we set up gender teams. One of the elder boys at the club, Andreas, was a renowned computer gamer. On this particular night, he joined the football game, to the astonishment of many. This was the only time I saw him participate in any kind of physical sports activity, and as he entered the football pitch, a large crowd cheered. Despite this positive attention, the boys told him to join the girls` team – as the only boy – because, obviously (as a computer geek), he was not good enough to join the boys` team. Still, throughout the game the boys treated him as the most skilful player on the girls` team, no doubt because of his gender, despite some of the girls being much better players.

I grew up in the wider local area, but I rarely visited Oksbøl. It was too far away and too different from where I grew up, but still, when I entered the field, I had local knowledge and certain ideas of what life in Oksbøl was like. And when the adolescents described their daily lives, they came across many issues with which I was very familiar: For instance, they told me how they went to nearby Varde for shopping and for hanging out with friends in the shopping street in the hope that they would make new friends. They told me where they went clubbing, how they got drunk on the train on their way there, and they told me how their everyday mobility involved travelling long distances and how their ability to get around depended on public transport or parents willing to take them. When I was 14 years old, I spent time at the same shopping street with similar hopes, I went clubbing the same places and vividly remember the train rides, and as an adolescent, my life was similarly structured by public transport and timetables. Some things, then, had hardly changed in the intervening years, or so it seemed. Doing ethnography in such familiar environment thus meant that I had to carefully look beyond my own past experiences with and stereotypic assumptions of teenage life there. An epistemological standpoint grounded in Linguistic Ethnography (e.g. Shaw et al. 2015) proved a useful point of departure. Keeping an eye on both ethnographic and linguistic sides forced me to pay close attention to the unfolding of everyday activities in ways that can be summarised as: Who did what, with whom, how, where and when (also section 3.2). And looking at social patterns across many hours of audio recording helped me step back from the everyday flow of communicative practices in data analyses. What eventually emerged was social positions and ideologies, which at times, but not always, contested and renewed my initial assumptions, and which helped me understand more fully my own disposion, my own past as a West Jutlandic teenager and the forces that eventually made me leave for Copenhagen.

3.4 Data description

The fieldwork took place from September 2011 to February 2012. After this date followed a period of frequent contact with some participants and sessions of retrospective conversation and discussion of the data.

The data consist of

- Field diaries and sketches of the area

- 24 largely unstructured qualitative interviews with students in the focus class, individually or in groups. Six interviews with teachers, parents and club workers. This amounts to 30 hours of audio recordings.
- Retrospective conversations with focal participants on their data.

The major part of the data, however, consist of 65 hours of recordings of everyday activities:

- Self-recordings carried out by the focal participants in various everyday situations for one month. When I introduced them to the task, I asked for at least six recordings of 30 minutes each: With older family members, with friends, while riding in a car and while having dinner. The aim was to help them get started, but also to make sure I had comparable data. These data include recordings of family dinners, peer group interaction while gaming online, searching the internet, watching the telly, hanging out with friends in a variety of social situations and at sports practice. The focal participants were:
    - Anders: A well-liked boy who was interested in sports and computer gaming. His family had strong ties to the local community and had lived there for generations.
    - Ane: A girl who was into sports, and who self-ascribed as belonging to the "egen stil/old-fashioned" end of the social strata. Her family had strong ties to the local community and had lived there for generations.
    - Marie: Many of her peers described her as "Bad", but still she was very popular and well-liked and very school-ambitious. She and her family were new-comers.
    - Søren: A boy who preferred manual work to school work. His family was second-generation at their farm, which he, in due course, was meant to take over.
- Recordings of students, predominantly from the focus class, wearing an wireless audio-recorder for three hours during a school day.
- Recordings of social activities in and out of institutional and leisure time contexts of which I was sometimes part. These include group work at school, lunches at the local pizza place and at school and recordings of social activities in the school hallways.

This amounts to a total of 95 hours of audio recordings.

3.5 Oksbøl as a rural periphery

Oksbøl is situated in a geographical area popularly referred to as ”Udkantsdanmark” (”Outskirts/Fringe Denmark”). This label covers the peripheral end of the centre-periphery dimension (e.g. Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013b). Centre and periphery are concepts related to a spatial metaphor referring to the socio-cultural positioning of social and geographical places, practices or speakers. It originates in examinations of economic growth and expansion. Capitalism and the flow of goods and labour are considered key elements in the creation of a world-system that divides territorial regions into centres and peripheries (Wallerstein 2007), depending on access to knowledge, finances, labour and natural resources. It is a power relation and points to structural inequality and the unequal distributions of economic, political and cultural power dynamics between diverse socio-cultural positions (Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013b: 3), and to how social resources circulate and move from one social domain to another (e.g. Blommaert 2005, 2010, Sultana et al. 2013). Centres and peripheries are mutually constitutive, and they are defined relative to each other. The centre is characterised by its “advancement, metropolitanism, and political, economic, and trade power. The periphery is (…) marginal, the opposite of the centre, the boundary or the outer part of it” (Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013b: 3), because of its “*partial* access to *specific* forms of practice holding a hierarchical – inferior – position relative to what happens in more central parts” (Wang et al. 2013: 7, original italics). The periphery is therefore characterised by its lack of power and limited access to and influence on prestigious social resources, whereas prestige and normativity characterise the definition of the centre. In Denmark, central and peripheral geographical settings are officially characterised by economic growth, income level, educational level and population rate (Erhvervs- og Byggestyrelsen 2011: 23). A brief historical outline of developments in the Oksbøl area illustrates how Oksbøl came to fit the peripheral end of the process.

Oksbøl is a small provincial town, which came into existence in late 19th century with the emergence of the local railway station. In that sense, Oksbøl is similar to many other small Danish rural towns that have prospered and declined with the varying success and usefulness of local railway networks (Groth & Fertner 2013). Over the past decade, the population rate within the area has stagnated, with an increasing number of elders. Due to the lack of higher education institutions and job possibilities within the region, many young people permanently leave for the larger cities, especially Copenhagen (Danmarks Statistik, Kontur 2012, Mortensen 2011, Region Syddanmark

2014). In comparison, Copenhagen has witnessed demographic and economic growth (see Danmarks Statistik, Københavns Kommune 2014), among other things due to it being the centre of political, administrative power and of the educational elite. Oksbøl is situated in the proximity of the two larger towns Esbjerg, originally an industrial fishing town and today the fifth largest town in Denmark (pop. 72.151, Danmarks Statistik 2016) with many offshore activities, and Varde, an old market town dating back to pre-Medieval times (pop. 13.810, Danmarks Statistik 2016). Adolescents go to either Esbjerg or Varde for shopping, for sports, parties and to attend upper and technical education. While I carried out fieldwork, you could catch the train to Varde (appr. 20 minutes) and from there to Esbjerg (appr. 20 minutes), or you could go by bus to Esbjerg (appr. 50 minutes). Today, the bus line is closed down, and during my fieldwork period, local politicians suggested the closure of parts of the Oksbøl-Varde railway line, because they were too costly.

Oksbøl formerly served as the administrative centre in the municipality of Blåvandshuk, a name derived from the Western-most tip of Denmark, Blåvandshuk. However, when the Structural Reform was implemented in 2007, the area lost its official power status and independence. The reform accelerated the centralisation process of welfare state services and institutions all over Denmark and resulted, among other things, in the closing of local hospitals, schools, libraries (Dybvad 2015, Winther & Svendsen 2012). The aim of the reform was to maximise expertise and qualities, but also to cut costs. Apparently, it was founded on the belief that rural areas were expensive to run and dependent on urban areas (Winther & Svendsen 2012, a belief contested in Dybvad 2015). Consequently, the municipality of Blåvandshuk was annexed to Varde Ny Kommune. In 2011-2012, the consequences of this reform were felt, detested and problematised by the local residents in Oksbøl. The fear of losing distinctive characteristics and successful local institutions was a recurrent topic in interviews with adults and teens alike. For instance, the adolescents continuously stressed the importance of the youth club in interviews:

Extract 3.1: Group interview Ane, Louise, Clara (4:42-4:47)

Signe	hvad gør man når man er ung her	what do you do here when you are young
Louise	man tager på klub	you go to the club

Louise´s prompt response is characteristic of many of the answers to this particular question (see also extract 3.5). The youth club is a local advantage, especially compared to the possibilities

available to adolescents elsewhere, in Varde for instance (or when I was young in Horne, see section 3.1). Here there are no youth clubs, they say, and, according to several Oksbøl adolescents, youngsters in Varde are therefore left with the only possibility of hanging out at the local McDonald´s. When I ask Ane, Louise and Clara to specify the differences between Oksbøl and Varde, they elaborate:

Extract 3.2: Group interview Ane, Louise, Clara (5:51-6:05)

Ane	McDonald´s (.) det tror jeg	McDonald´s (.) I think
Clara	((ler)) vi har ikke McDonald`s	((laughs)) we have no McDonald´s
Louise	((ler)) McDonald`s ja	((laughs)) McDonald´s yes
Ane	jeg tror det er noget med at altså øh de øh de mødes bare (.) hver dag efter skole på McDonald´s	I think it´s something with well eh they eh they meet up (.) every day after school at McDonald´s
Louise	forestil jer lige at gå på [McDonald´s hver dag	imagine going to [McDonald´s every day
Ane	[FY for	[UGH
Clara	ja der er også mange der bare tager derhen uden at købe noget (.) og så bare sidder de sidder bare og snakkker dernede	yes there are also many who just go there without buying anything (.) and then just sit they just sit down there and talk
Louise	fordi det er bare mødestedet	because it´s the meeting place

For years, local Oksbølian politicians had financially prioritised Samuelsgården, because, as one of the adult workers there explained to me, a well-functioning day-care institution would attract new residents to the area and make it an attractive permanent residence for military personnel with temporal contracts and their families. A strong and well-functioning Samuelsgården was therefore a political strategy to secure the continuation of the local community. However, rumour had it, that all day-care institutions in Varde Ny Kommune were to be standardised. Local fear was that this would mean a reduction in club activities and in staff, and the adolescents dreaded that they would lose the club as a meeting place and be left with the only option to meet up with friends at the local pizza place – the Oksbøl equivalent to Varde´s McDonald´s. Ane´s emphasised response cry, the ritualised emotional expression (Goffman 1981: 109) "FY for" ("UGH"), in extract 3.2 illustrates

how this is not an ideal substitution. Several adults associated with Samuelsgården described how local voices lobbied to raise public and political awareness about the uniqueness and local importance of Samuelsgården. But to no avail, they feared. Moreover, local members of its board published a book (Højgaard 2011). It told the story of the institution and presented it as a local "flagship" and a model day-care institution on both regional and national levels.

Parts of the administrations of both Samuelsgården and Blåvandshuk Skole no doubt viewed the present project and the fact that I carried out fieldwork in these institutions as another strategy of putting institutional Oksbøl on the political map. I was told that they believed this project to be a different way of highlighting local challenges and conditions. As this project was carried out within the confines of a nationally powerful institution, University of Copenhagen, it was further believed to reach different audiences than would the book. The understanding of this project as part of a larger political project became particularly salient when I was asked not to change the names of the town, Samuelsgården or Blåvandshuk Skole (and taking the special characteristics of the area into consideration, regional anonymity would indeed have been difficult to set up). In fact, the school headmaster specifically informed me that "we prefer that you don´t". While I admit that this project is in part a political project, because it addresses aspects of centralisation, peripheralisation and social stratification, and while I would very much like to contribute to ongoing public debates on rural life conditions, I have to emphasise that this is first and foremost an ethnographic and data-driven project on how rural youth use linguistic resources to align with social positions in interaction, and how they, in so doing, reflect and comment on large-scale societal processes. This means that this project does not have a political agenda as its top priority, but that it provides a small snapshot of contemporary rural life under globalised conditions.

Centralisation and peripheralisation has received increasing attention in recent sociolinguistics (e.g. Blommaert 2009, 2010, Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013a, contributions in Multilingual Margins 2015, vol. 1, Sultana et al. 2013, Varis & Wang 2012, Wang et al. 2013). These argue for a necessary redirection of attention from the ´urban bias` focus on language and globalisation, mentioned in section 2.3, to a focus on peripheral sites as equally complex and prone to global effects (Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013a:1, Wang et al. 2013:4, also Varis & Wang 2012). The bias holds the danger of considering current sociolinguistic processes of globalisation in centre contexts, and from predominantly centre perspectives, only, and to dismiss these processes as

characteristics of globalisation processes in peripheral contexts (Wang et al: 2013: 6, see Blommaert 2005, 2010 for critique of such approaches). To remedy the universalism of urban, centrist perspectives on language and globalisation, a series of recent studies focusing on peripheral and marginalised contexts have emerged. For instance, Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes (2013b) set out explore how new normativities emerge through centre-periphery dynamics and the interplay between contrasting central end peripheral norms and practices in peripheral contexts. They argue that peripheral contexts are crucial for understanding processes of globalisation, because these contexts entail clashes between macro-structural, centrist norms being forced, so to speak, on to peripheral contexts, and the already existing, local norms. This is a point in extracts 3.3 and 7.1 below, and in Busch (2013) who studies the use of a Slovenian diacritic sign on stickers attached to topographical signs and commodities in a monolingual German context in the Austro-Slovenian border region. She builds on the argument that space is a social product and argues that speakers` interpretations of a place inform their linguistic practices while at the same time reinforcing existing notions of that particular place (also Sultana et al. 2013). She illustrates how the reframing of semiotic signs deconstructs socio-cultural demarcations between "German" and "Slovenian" and that, by rebellious acts towards centrist norms, Slovenian gains some of its former prestige. Whereas some studies take the connection between a centre and a periphery to rely on the connection between majority-minority speakers (e.g. Pietikäinen 2013) or between different nation states (e.g. Sultana et al. 2013, Varis & Wang 2011), the centre-periphery relation is treated as an urban-rural dichotomy in the Danish context (e.g. Dybvad 2015). This perspective results in relatively one-sided characteristics of the rural as exclusively peripheral and the urban as exclusively central. In what follows, I prefer the label "rural" rather than "periphery". I never heard the adolescents (or their parents) refer to Oksbøl or West Jutland as a "periphery". This label only came up when I introduced it in interviews, and it was, as extract 3.3 below informs us, a highly detested category. If I took to describing Oksbøl as a periphery, I would reproduce a power relation, which, as this chapter and chapter 8 tell us, was inevitably there, and which structured and impacted the lives of local residents, but it rarely went under the name "periphery". If I took to this framework, then, it would be one imposed on the data by me. This would raise questions such as what characterises a periphery, for whom and for what reason, and what are the pitfalls and consequences when researchers ascribe "periphery" to some (less urban) areas solely because of them being remote in relation to urban areas (e.g. Jaffe & Oliva 2013 on Corsica in relation to France, Pietikäinen 2013 on Samíland in relation to Finland, or in relation to more Westernised

parts of the world, e.g. Sultana et al. 2013 on Bangladesh and Mongolia and Varis & Wang 2011 on China as peripheral).

3.6 Established ideologies about the rural

Oksbøl and other Danish rural areas are subject to substantial territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant 2007). Dominant political and public discourses repeatedly reinforce a socio-cultural and socio-economic declining image of the Danish rural (see, for instance, www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/udkant and www.jyllands-posten.dk/topic/udkant). Rural areas are "backward, depopulated, demolished, deprived of infrastructure, lack employment opportunities, have ageing and poorly educated populations" (Winther & Svendsen 2012: 466). These narratives first of all ignore the fact that rural areas are (also) dynamic and globalised centres (e.g. Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013b) and that rural residents do not form a homogeneous and singular entity (Woods 2011: 33). What is important to bear in mind is that diversity is a characteristic of the rural as well as of the urban – it just takes different shapes in rural areas, whereas it seems to be more intense in urban areas. Second of all, the narratives obscure the fact that urban areas and urban populations are also subject to marginalisation and stigmatisation (Britain forthc., Jaspers 2011, Wacquant 2007).

Thus, rural Denmark is immersed with negative ideologies that have now become standard social facts (see also description of ideological iconicity, recursiveness and erasure (Gal & Irvine 1995) in section 4.1). Rampton (2006) operates with two types of ideology in his study of the reproduction of class structures among Inner-London youth: Established and behavioural ideologies (from Vološinov 1973, cited in Rampton 2006: 225-226, 313, also section 1.2). The former comprises ideologies that exist at macro-societal levels, such as religious or state ideologies. Thus, the centralisation process put into motion by the Structural Reform can meaningfully be interpreted as the political manifestation and economic buttressing of established ideologies about rural Denmark. Established ideologies tap into and are (re)valourised in behavioural ideologies – the momentary ideological formulations in ongoing interaction – but indirectly. Rampton (2006) argues that in order to unmask established ideologies in everyday interaction, we need to see social encounters through ethnographic and micro-analytical lenses. His analyses of stylised snippets of posh and Cockney make it possible to apprehend how the London youngsters comment on dominant class ideologies, e.g. in their transitions between curricular work and play, and how established ideologies affect their daily lives.

The negative ideologies about rural Denmark are vivid in the national print media (see newspaper references above and Woods 2011: 34-38 on how media representations in the UK construct the rural and become the means through which the majority understand and recognise rural areas). Here, negative labels attach to descriptions of rural areas, such as "Den rådne banan" and "Udkantsdanmark" ("The Rotten Banana" and "Outskirts Denmark"). The former terms an area in which nothing useful grows or exists. It originally referred to the geographical (banana) shape of areas in decline in the 2000s and was media made (see Winther & Svendsen 2012: 468). The latter refers to a designated peripheral, inferior position to rural areas in relation to the national centre, Copenhagen (but it ignores the fact that, geographically speaking, Copenhagen and Oksbøl are equally peripheral). Today, this label dominates in public discourse (Winther & Svendsen 2012: 468). Winther & Svendsen (2012) describe how rural Denmark is subject to continuous othering in Danish public media. They conducted a large-scale survey of labels designating rural areas in all available Danish print media in the period 1996-2011. They found an increasing use of negative labels for rural areas from 3,8% in 1996 to 45% in 2011. They therefore describe the ideological climate defining rural areas during my fieldwork period.

The established ideologies have been repeatedly contested (e.g. Dybvad 2014, Slumstrup 2015, Winther & Svendsen 2012) and been accused of being founded on urban beliefs about rural areas, a point continuously reiterated by Woods (2011). In the following example, Ane fights such ideologies and describes these as emanating in contexts devoid of rural socio-cultural knowledge:

Extract 3.3: Interview with Ane (30:15-31:33)

Signe	der er nogen der snakker om sådan Udkantsdanmark og at når man bor på landet så eller uden for de store [byer=	there is some talking about like Outskirts Denmark and when you live in the country or outside the big [cities=
Ane	[ja	[yes
Signe	=så er der sådan lidt trist og der er ikke noget at lave	=then it´s a little bleak and there is nothing to do
Ane	altså jeg synes jo for eksempel københavnere de taler ekstremt dårligt om Jylland jeg forstår det ikke (.) overhovedet ikke	well I think for example Copenhageners they talk extremely bad about Jutland that I don´t understand (.)

	jeg synes ikke der er noget dårligt ved Jylland og det der Udkantsdanmark hvor folk siger det er megatrist det er det overhovedet ikke altså jeg tror man skal opleve man skal opleve at bo i en by for at kunne sige at det er trist (.) og det tror jeg ikke folk de oplever jeg tror bare folk de siger ah men det er så mørkt det gider vi ikke at det er det overhovedet ikke altså det er noget ej overhovedet ikke der er fest og farver og i en lille by som Oksbøl Udkantsdanmark hvad man nu kalder det der sker så mange aktiviteter altså der sker de arrangerer en masse for eksempel sådan noget med en oktoberfest hvor alle bare mødes oppe i hallen ikke også	at all I don´t think there is anything bad about Jutland and this Outskirts Denmark when people say it`s so bleak it isn´t at all well I think you have to experience you have to experience living in a town to say it`s bleak (.) and I don´t think people experience that I just think they say ah but it´s so dark we don´t bother well it isn´t at all well no at all it´s a lark and in a small town like Oksbøl Outskirts Denmark what ever you call it there are so many activities going on they arrange so much for example something like an October celebration with everybody meeting up in the sports hall right
Signe	mm	mm
Ane	det sker der ikke i København og Århus og alt det der sker ikke fordi der kommer in- der er ikke sådan nogle fester der er ikke det der julestue på samme måde der er ikke bank- banko (.) julebanko som der er og det tror jeg man skal opleve for at fortælle at for eksempel Udkantsdanmark er noget trist noget for det er det overhovedet	that doesn´t happen in Copenhagen and Århus and everything that happens right because nobody turn- there are no such parties no such similar Christmas bazaars there is no bin- bingo (.) no Christimas bingo like here and I think you need to experience that to say that for instance Outskirts Denmark is bleak because it

ikke	isn´t at all

When Ane reacts to my introduction of the issue of Udkantsdanmark, she immediately frames it as relational to urban Denmark, Copenhagen especially, but also, to less extent, to Århus, the second-largest city. She communicates how established ideological notions of Jutland – matching Udkantsdanmark – are false and how they express arrogant social stances: They build on negative assumptions and negative descriptions made by people who have no personal experiences with rural life conditions, and who cannot bother to find out. They find life in rural areas to be bleak and Jutland to be "mørk" ("dark"). This latter characteristic is a nationally well-known iconic representation of Jutland. It has existed at least since the mid-1800s (Pedersen 1996a: 77), and in extract 1.1, we saw how it circulates among the adolescents. Dominant ideologies about Jutland and Udkantsdanmark are therefore one-sided, because they build on a lack of understanding and on a central/urban dismissal of the rural as interesting (a point also made in relation to contemporary sociolingusitics in section 2.3). Thus, they reduce rural Jutland to nothing but a bleak, dark place. In this process, all the positive things, which the area offers – such as a close-knit community – become invisible (Gal & Irvine 1995, see section 4.1 for further description). However, while Ane pins out a negative, centrist perspective on rural Denmark, she also indexes the urban and the people living there: They are arrogant in how they (falsely) perceive others, they only focus on themselves and are self-centred and they don´t socialise or participate in seasonal getting-togethers. The example therefore illustrates how the ideological notions about Udkantsdanmark are part and parcel of an urban-rural dichotomy and rivalry between urban and rural Denmark (Henningsen 2006).

Faber et al. (2014) report such media stigmatisation to have had negative effects on how Nothern Jutlandic youth look upon their rural backgrounds and on how they picture their future lives as being at odds with a rural living (also Winther & Svendsen 2012: 467, Hansen 2014). As most parts of Jutland, the North and the Southwest included, are subject to similar prejudices, the Oksbøl adolescents are likely to be similar affected. The rest of this chapter therefore focuses on how established ideologies about the rural circulate among the adolescents in Oksbøl and how they reproduce them in 1) narratives about Oksbøl and 2) in images of their future life trajectories.

The interview data consists of 24 single and group interviews with the adolescents. Parts of these data focus on the adolescents` understandings of Oksbøl, notions of Oksbøl in relation to other

geographical areas and images of and plans for the future. One of the most consistent characteristics in these data is the consistent downgrading of Oksbøl in relation to bigger urban areas. Concurrently with this point is the description of Oksbøl as a place you move out of (also Faber et al. 2014, Hermansen & Rosenmeier 2011, Yndigegn 2003, Winther & Svendsen 2012). It holds very few future possibilities, and, as we will see, these possibilities do not fit with ideological perceptions of being educated, dynamic and late-modern. Growing up in Oksbøl means that you will eventually have to orient elsewhere, and eighth graders are asked to consider their life and career options in interviews with educational advisors. The local school can take them as far as grade nine. Then they can attend grade ten or secondary education in nearby Varde, or they can go to the largest town in the region, Esbjerg, for technical training or secondary education. The political and educational climate in Denmark strives for everybody to finish at least secondary education, or an equivalent (Beck & Ebbensgaard 2009, Ulstrup 2011). To do so, however, means that the Oksbøl adolescents are left with no choice other than to orient away from the local area and to seek educational options elsewhere (Faber et al. 2014: 22). Geographical and social mobility is therefore a life condition when growing up in Oksbøl (also Hansen 2014).

The data reveals two overall and interrelated ideologies when it comes to the adolescents` portrayal of the Oksbøl area: 1) When asked, every adolescent states that living in the area is fine. With some variation, of course, as some describe living there as barely ok, whereas others claim to love it. 2) Most adolescents claim that life in Oksbøl is dull (see also Driscoll 2014 for similar descriptions of rural towns in Australia). Marie gives voice to both of these in the first example. She initially describes the area as “kedeligt”, “nederen” and “dødt” (“dull”, “a dump”, “dead”), but then moves on to state that “it´s ok living here”:

Extract 3.4: Group interview Marie, Pernille, Tine (2:34-2:52)

Signe	hvordan vil I beskrive det her sted altså	well how will you describe this place
Marie	kedeligt	dull
Pernille	ja	yes
Signe	mm	mm
Marie	nederen	a dump
Signe	mm	mm
Marie	dødt (.) det er sådan set	dead (.) that`s it really

	det ej det er fedt nok at bo her og så men der er bare ikke noget lige at lave her	no it´s ok living here and so but there is just nothing to do here
	((lines omitted))	((lines omitted))
	hvis du skal et eller andet sted hen fordi man (.) det er meget sjældent der er sådan gang i den	if you are going somewhere because you (.) nothing really ever happens here
	((lines omitted))	((lines omitted))
Pernille	altså lige som sådan at der i Esbjerg og Varde der er altid nogen en eller anden vennekreds som holder fest	well it`s like in Esbjerg and Varde there there is always some group of friends who throws a party
Marie	kan man høre	that`s what we hear
Pernille	du kan altid finde et eller andet sted en fredag aften eller sådan det kan du sjældent her	you are always able to find some place on a Friday night or that you only rarely find here
Signe	nej så der er ikke helt så mange muligheder	no so there aren´t that many possibilities
Pernille	nej	no

Pernille backs up Marie`s negative characteristic of the area, because it does not offer wished-for activities, such as partying. Consequently, the girls will have to go elsewhere, meaning Esbjerg and Varde, if they want to track down a party on a Friday night. In the next example, Anders in a similar vein explains how living in Oksbøl restricts his possibilities for practicing taekwondo. As there is no taekwondo club in Oksbøl, Anders` parents take him to practice twice a week in Esbjerg. This is a 30 minutes drive:

Extract 3.5: Interview with Anders (24:38-25:05)

Signe	hvordan er det at bo her	what is it like living here
Anders	jeg synes det er det er godt altså nogle gange så	I think it`s it`s fine well sometimes then I would

	kunne jeg godt tænke mig	like you know with teakwondo
	sådan lige her med taekwondo	and all then I would
	der så kunne jeg godt tænke	like to because I could
	mig at for så kunne jeg få	practice a lot more and
	træning meget mere og kunne	would be able to attend
	komme meget letter- så havde	a lot mo- then it would
	det ikke taget så lang tid i	not take so long in Esbjerg
	Esbjerg og sådan hvis jeg	and such if I lived
	havde boet i Esbjerg	in Esbjerg
Signe	ja	yes
Anders	men jeg synes sådan samlet	but generally I think then
	så kan jeg bedst lide at bo	I prefer to live here
	her med klubben og alt det	with the club and all

Whereas Anders prefers living in Oksbøl because of the youth club, he stresses that had he lived in Esbjerg, he would have been able to practice this sport more and to spend less time on transportation. Extracts 3.4 and 3.5 therefore illustrate how living in Oksbøl restricts the adolescents` everyday mobility: Had they lived elsewhere, they would have had different – and better – possibilities to participate in social activities. Thus, life happens elsewhere, even if the adolescents presently like living in Oksbøl. This point is particularly outspoken in narratives about the future. The following example displays the typical response to my question of where they want to live in the future:

Extract 3.6: Interview with Emilie (18:57-19:03)

Signe	hvor vil du gerne bo henne	where would you like to live
	vil du gerne bo her	would you like to live here
Emilie	nej det tror jeg ikke (.)	no I don´t think so (.)
	altså så skal det være sådan	well then it would have to
	noget som Varde eller sådan	be some place like Varde or
	det skal ikke være sådan	so it shouldn´t be somewhere
	noget kedeligt noget ((ler))	dull ((laughs)) no it
	nej det skulle være noget	should be somewhere bigger
	større og noget med noget	and somewhere more
	mere gang i	lively

Emilie contrasts Oksbøl and Varde: She imagines to go somewhere "bigger" and "more lively", meaning Varde, in contrast to somewhere "dull", that is; Oksbøl.

The interview data, including the three group interviews, comprise 24 adolescents. Out of these, only a few boys, Søren and Alexander especially (see extracts 5.3 and 5.4. on their descriptions of local dialect use), pictured a future in the Oksbøl area. The following extract from the field notes illustrates the uniqueness of such social position, and how this position is treated as a funny deviation among peers:

Field note, 16.11.11 (my translation)
I sit next to Mikael, Nicolaj and Søren in the computer room during the final class. We talk about their plans for the future. Nicolaj wants to be an engineer. He says he performs well at school and wants to focus on his schoolwork. He mentions a former classmate who made it to the Da Vinci-line [an elite education] in Esbjerg, because he did so well. Nicolaj wants that too. Mikael wants to be a police officer and move to Copenhagen. Then Søren exclaims that he never wants to move to a big city, but that he wants to live somewhere spacious so that you can do whatever you want. He wants to be a contractor, work at a tractor station or be a lorry driver transporting gravel. He lives in [rural area], and there he wants to stay. As he says this, the others smile a little and exchange looks. As a comment on Mikael`s previous description of the girls at his gym team, Søren explains that he is not into girls, "but into the other kind of horsepower", as he says. He has built his own tractor at home, and he can`t wait until next year when he can have his tractor license. The others laugh at him and say they want moped licenses and then take their mopeds to school. I suggest that Søren then takes his tractor to school. Everybody laughs, but I can tell it pleases him. He says that it`s a brilliant idea, and that the tractor will look good at the school parking lot.

The field note extract demonstrates how the notion of a future in the Oksbøl area seems to foster an image of a specific masculine lifestyle that includes manual labour and rurality (also Hermansen & Rosenmeier 2011, Schøning & Pedersen 2009 for analyses of rural, masculine lifestyles): Søren projects himself as earthbound and locally oriented. He does not share Mikael´s interest in girls, but

is much more focused on agricultural machinery, manual work and blue collar jobs – in contrast to Mikael and Nicolaj who have higher educational aspirations to be fulfilled elsewhere (in Esbjerg and Copenhagen). As the vast majority of the adolescents report on leaving the area, Søren`s future perspective is seemingly unappealing – or, at least, extraordinary. In this extract this point comes about through Mikael and Nicolaj´s repeated laughter and exchanges of looks when Søren outlines a future social position at odds with mainstream norms. What we see put into motion in this extract is thus the projection of how distinctive places go hand in hand with the projection of distinctive lifestyles, which are, in turn, classed. The urban-rural dichotomy is therefore (also) a class distinction (Henningsen 2006, I pursue this point in Schøning (forthc.).

The interview data reveal two general trends in relation to education, future employment and mobility: 1) Those who want to pursue long educations, such as Law, Medicine and Psychology (or join the police force as Mikael above) picture a future in Copenhagen, whereas 2) those who want a technical education, such as mechanics or chefs, picture a future in Esbjerg or Varde. This difference probably relates to the fact that if you apply for a longer education, e.g. a university degree, you need to move to the big cities, whereas you can attend technical college in Esbjerg (see Monka 2013: 27 on geographic and social mobility patterns in Denmark). This trend is in concert with recent survey studies focussing on education and mobility patterns among adolescents in North Jutland (Faber et al. 2014), Southern Jutland (Yndigegn 2003) and Funen (Hermansen & Rosenmeier 2011), respectively. All three studies illustrate how adolescents who aim for academic careers plan on leaving the larger region, whereas adolescents pursuing a technical education plan on staying in the region (e.g. Faber et al. 2014: 58, Yndigegn 2003: 402).

Ane, for example, wants to be a psychologist. Just preceding the following example, she has described a recent trip to London and how exciting this city, with its many people, shops and cafes, is:

Extract 3.7: Interview with Ane (28:59-29:52)

Ane	jeg synes sådan en lille by	I think a small town like
	som Oksbøl er hyggelig men	Oksbøl is nice but I`d
	jeg vil hellere til en storby	rather go to a big city
Signe	ja	yes

Ane	jeg ved ikke hvorfor jeg	I don´t know why I have only
	har kun levet i små byer	lived in small villages I
	jeg har kun levet i Oksbøl	have only lived in Oksbøl and
	og det er måske derfor jeg	maybe that`s why I want to
	vil prøve noget nyt	try something new
Signe	ja	yes
Ane	jeg ved ikke for mig lige	I don´t know for me right
	nu hedder det nok København	now it`s probably Copenhagen
	jeg ved ikke hvorfor men	I don´t know why but I think
	jeg synes det er egentlig	actually I want the London
	London-kulturen jeg vil og	culture and in that sense I
	der tror jeg lidt at	think that the
	københavner-kulturen falder	Copenhagen culture aligns
	lidt ind i det og i forhold	with that in comparison to
	til herude hvor der bare er	out here where there are just
	to en brugs en Kiwi en	two one co-op one Kiwi one
	Fakta der er ikke sådan	Fakta there are no such
	nogle cafeer hvor alle bare	cafes where everybody just go
	sætter sig ind og sidder og	and sit and there are not as
	der er ikke så mange	many
	mennesker	people
Signe	nej	no
Ane	men man kender jo alle	but out here you know almost
	næsten herude ikke også og	everybody right and that
	det er der måske en fordel	might be an advantage
	ved det ved jeg ikke	I don´t know

Whenever the issue of a big city came up, the adolescents almost always targeted this as Copenhagen and hardly ever as one of the other big cities in Denmark: Århus, Odense, Aalborg or close-by Esbjerg. In extract 3.7, Ane upgrades “city culture” as new and adventurous. She prefers London, but as this is not easily accessible she will have to make do with its smaller, Danish equivalent, Copenhagen. Similarly to Anders, Marie and Pernille, she focuses on the restrictions of Oksbøl and what it can´t offer: Its lack of cafes, people and a big city-culture, and it only holds three supermarkets (a co-op, a Kiwi and a Fakta) in the centre of Oksbøl (where, for the record, one also finds a bank, a second-hand shop, a few take-out places, one shop selling men`s and women`s

clothes and another selling textiles, a library, a few museums, a pub, an inn, a hostel and an indoor water park complex). She does mention a possible advantage of small places – the small town cliché that "out here you almost know everybody" – but she does not seem really convinced herself and ends it with an "I don´t know" (however, in extract 3.3 Ane projects local loyalty and characterises the social atmosphere in Oksbøl as "a lark" and as anything but dull). In other contexts, Ane and several of her peers mention this possible advantage as a minus, because it results in local gossiping, of falling victim to local, adult surveillance and lack of anonymity (Yndigegn 2003: 116-124, also Driscoll 2014).

While Ane seems excited about big cities, Anne is more reluctant in extract 3.8. She wants to be a hairdresser or a social worker:

Extract 2:8: Interview with Anne (19:02-20:11)

Signe	kunne du forestille dig at	could you imagine to stay
	blive boende her altså her i	here well in this
	området Oksbøl i fremtiden	area Oksbøl in the future
	altså når du selv får børn	well when you get kids
Anne	altså her i Oksbøl eller hvad	well here in Oksbøl or what
Signe	ja [eller Varde Esbjerg	yes [or Varde Esbjerg
Anne	jeg tror det ikke jeg tror det	I don´t think so I think it`s
	er for kedeligt og småt	too dull and small
Signe	ja	yes
Anne	men jeg ved det ikke men	but I don´t know but Varde
	måske Varde jeg ved det ikke	maybe I don´t know I just
	jeg tror bare jeg prøver at	think I try to venture into
	komme ud i noget stort jeg	something big not exactly
	tror ikke lige København det	Copenhagen I don´t know
	ved jeg ikke jeg tror det er	it´s too violent (.)
	for voldeligt (.) de skyder	they shot
	hinanden og sådan eller det	each other or I don´t know
	ved jeg ikke om de gør men	if they do but that`s
	det lyder sådan	what it sounds like it
Signe	((ler))	((laughs))

Anne	((ler)) det ved jeg ikke	((laughs)) that I don´t know
	((ler)) det kan jo godt være	((laughs)) it is possible
	de gør det alt hvad man	they do that everything you
	hører i Jylland det	hear in Jutland that
(1.2)		
Signe	det er dårligt	that`s negative
Anne	ja næsten voldeligt	yes violent almost
Signe	ja	yes
Anne	men det er også der alle de	but it`s also where all
	der stjerner (.) berømtheder	those stars (.) celebrities
	de bor (.) det kunne være	they live (.) it would be
	meget spændende lige at møde	very exciting bumping into
	dem	them

Similarly to Emilie in extract 3.6, she wants to go somewhere bigger, like Varde. Copenhagen is seemingly too big and lively for her. It is a corrupted, dangerous place, where people go about shooting each other. This characteristic probably reflects a series of gang related shootings, which took place in Inner-Copenhagen around the time of recording and which found much media coverage. On the other hand, however, Copenhagen is also intriguing, because this is where you get to meet celebrities.

3.7 Summing up

The examples illuminate how current stigmatising ideologies about the rural permeate local narratives about Oksbøl (e.g. Woods 2011: 38-40) The adolescents project alienation towards the local – an othering of the rural (Winther & Svendsen 2012) – which is rendered visible in two ways:

First, the ideological construction of Oksbøl builds on comparisons and contrasts to more urban areas. Here Oksbøl predominantly comes out at the losing end and as the least attractive alternative. Oksbøl is bleak and dull, whereas bigger urban areas are awarded prestige and high status: They are livelier – you can always find parties there (extract 3.4) – they are more diverse – this is where you get to meet famous people (extract 3.8) – and they invite rural adolescents to embark on new adventures (e.g. extract 3.7). Thus, the ideological constructions of Oksbøl operate in tandem with ideological constructions of other, more densely populated areas (e.g. extract 3.3). So, what we see

in the examples is the reinforcement of the urban-rural dichotomy and how each pole exists and acquires its distinctive ideological characteristics in contrast to the other (Henningsen 2006: 131-133, 184). This is particularly vivid in extract 3.3 in which Ane emphasises urban-rural rivalry and in the field note extract, which suggests that class differentiations are part of the dichotomy. However, the adolescents also circulate oppositional ideologies about the rural and the urban (Britain forthc.): On the one hand, Oksbøl is associated with the rural idyll (Woods 2010: 21-22) as a tranquil, spacy, cosy space full of social activities and social contact (e.g. extracts 3.3, 3.7, field note extract). On the other, however, it is bleak and a dump (e.g. extract 3.4). The urban, especially Copenhagen, is, in contrast, dangerous (extract 3.8) and void of social relations (extract 3.3), but it is also busy, lively, densely populated, adventurous and prestigious (e.g. extracts 3.6, 3.7).

Second, the adolescents imagine leaving the local area. While life in Oksbøl may presently be tolerable among the 13-15 year-olds, only two boys explicitly expressed the wish to stay in Oksbøl. As we saw in the field note example this is a deliberate choice indicative of a substantial local orientation, despite it being met with laughter among peers. This may indicate that to make such a choice takes courage. Moreover, when considering the interview data as a whole, a general picture emerges in which Oksbøl and the surrounding area hold no sustainable or attractive future for most of these adolescents, and this applies independently of whether they want to pursue academic or technical careers (also Faber et al. 2014: 61, Hermansen & Rosenmeier 2011). This suggests, however, that most adolescents at some point ´grow out` of the area (Yndigegn 2003: 402). And as consequence, the area can no longer provide the socio-cultural resources needed to move on and to move forward in the transition between childhood and adulthood (Yndigegn 2003: 138, also Driscoll 2014) and to build up successful future lives in accordance with contemporary late-modernity. In his large-scale survey study of life conditions and life possibilities among Southern Jutland youth, Yndigegn (2003: 126-128) argues similarly. He finds that mobility is a life condition for rural adolescents who project ideological conceptions of mobility equalising enhanced life conditions. Monka (2013) investigates social and geographical mobility in real-time studies of speakers in three provincial towns in Jutland, Odder, Vinderup and Tinglev. She underlines that in order to be geographically and/or socially mobile, speakers must be mentally mobile (Monka 2013: 26). This is the process "when a person has moved from a rural to a more strictly urban world-view and an orientation towards a different, more urban locale than the place where the person grew up" (Monka 2013: 26, my translation). As the adolescents in Oksbøl project orientations towards and

designate high status to more densely populated areas, this proposes a high degree of mental mobility.

Similarly to social class in Inner-London which "did not figure with any assurance or systematicity in *established* ideologies among" the adolescents (Rampton 2006: 314, original italics) so did the adolescents in Oksbøl not go about explicitly addressing established ideologies about the rural in mundane conversations, nor did they go around describing the area. They just lived it. However, the examples in this chapter pinpoint how such established ideologies took very real forms, because they structured and conditioned adolescent life. Still, these aspects were only ever directly approached in interviews with me. The examples in this chapter illustrate that I specifically asked them how they felt about the Udkantsdanmark discourse (extract 3.3), how they pictured life in Oksbøl (extracts 3.4, 3.5), and where they pictured themselves in the future (extracts 3.6, 3.7, 3.8). In that sense, my questions presumably helped thematise Oksbøl as an area different from other areas, and thus part of the reinforcement of established ideologies. However, in chapters 6-8, we see how the adolescents reflexively comment on and (re)valourise established ideologies and dominant power structures in their enregisterments of Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk*. Before we get to that, however, we need to encircle, among other things, the theoretical foundation that makes up this thesis.

Chapter 4: Theoretical foundations: The formation of ideologically loaded stereotypes

This chapter describes the theoretical equipment that forms the baseline for the analytical chapters 5-8. It focuses on the organising processes through which linguistic features become embedded with social meaning potentials, and how these potentials come to be valuable resources to project disaffiliation and alignment in social interaction. To open up this chapter, the following episode is illustrative of how ideological notions of indexicality and social alignment are put into motion among the adolescents. Here, Ane and her family have just finished Christmas dinner, and when Ane clears the napkins off the table, her grandfather Kaj reprimands her:

Extract 4.1: The tablecloth (a) (7:22-7:31)
Participants: Ane (recording), Asta (sister, age 6), Kaj (grandfather)

01	Kaj	du skal lade være med det	you shouldn´t do
02		der	that
03	Ane	ja	yes
(1.1)			
04	Kaj	hvor skal du så tørre æ	then where are you going to
05		fingre [i	wipe the [fingers
06	Asta	[åh:hh ↑nu kan jeg	[uh:hh ↑now I
07		[simpelthen ikke=	[simply can´t manage=
08	Ane	[ikke en skid	[damn all
09	Asta	=have mere↓ ((luftfuldt,	=another bite↓ ((airy,
10		lys stemme))	high-pitched voice))
(0.6)			
11	Ane	**kan du** [**simplethen**=	**you** [**simply**=
12	Asta	[jeg kan simpelt-	[I simply can-
13	Ane	=**ikke det er** [**altså** (([a]))=	=**can`t that´s** [**honestly**=
14	Asta	[nanananananana↓	[nanananananana↓
15	Ane	=**for søvren da**	=**jolly well**

Unrelated to the reprimand, Asta declares being full in a serious-sounding voice (lines 6-7, 9). She keys the declaration so as it projects her being exhausted from having eaten too much through several linguistic elements: The high-pitched, airy voice, the prolonged exhalation of "åh" ("uh"), an exaggerated falling sentence intonation and the stressing of "simpelthen" ("simply"). Moreover, the expression that she "ikke kan have mere" ("can`t manage another bite") seems rather adult-like, especially for a child her age. In response to this framing, Ane now starts teasing her. Ane projects this teasing activity by means of several linguistic features that differ from her habitual speech performance: 1) A Copenhagen intonation, 2) the exaggerated opening of /a/ to [ɑ] in "altså" (similar to "honestly", line 13), a feature stereotypically associated with conservative, upper class Copenhagen speech (e.g. Bring & Lund 1975, Jørgensen 1980), and 3) the swearword "for søvren da" (which translates into something like "jolly well", line 15), a more delicate variant of "for satan" ("hell!"). Ane´s action thereby seemingly ascribes (Copenhagen) refinement or sophistication and formality to the stance that Asta displays through her serious-sounding declaration. In response, Asta recognises the tease. She tries to shut her sister up and retaliates by performing a ritual teasing practice, reminiscent of young children`s tease: "nanananananana" (line 14).

The episode shows how Ane`s unserious reaction transforms the interpretive frame of a serious declaration into a tease. To do so, she designs her utterance in a way that sets apart its distinctive character from the surrounding talk: She puts on a stylised Copenhagen voice that comes about through various linguistic means stereotypically associated with high-status conservative Copenhagen (see chapter 7 for further description). Thus, the stylisation (e.g. Rampton 2006) instantiates social stereotypes, that is; "social regularities of metapragmatic typification" (Agha 2003: 242, see section 4.3 below) that put forth the social semiotics ascribed to particular speech forms (Agha 2007: 150). However, the indexical potentials instantiated and (re)valourised through stylisations are not free-floating entities, but emanate from ideologically structured organisations of social life that have a historical grounding and that operate in close proximity with other distinctive linguistic practices. This has consequences for stylised and non-stylised speech. The first two parts of this chapter therefore focus on the socio-historical developments of register formations through processes of enregisterment (Agha 2007, section 4.1), and on how different registers come to operate at, or be distinctive to, different ideological levels through Silverstein`s (2003) concept of orders of indexicality (section 4.2). Enregisterment and orders of indexicality therefore provide

frameworks for understanding how combinations of linguistic features become indexical of social meaning potential and come to be understood as ideologically distinct speech varieties (e.g. Jørgensen et al. 2011). However, whereas these two are rather abstract conceptualisations, stylisation is a situated practice that contributes to ongoing interaction and that pins down the intangible processes keyed by enregisterment and orders of indexicality. In the third part (4.3) we therefore look at stylisation in relation to 1) its sequential influences, 2) its interaction effects and 3) to its ideological effects. Finally, the last part (4.4) provides a discussion of how stylised and non-stylised speech practices are fused, and how I identified the stylised registers in chapters 6 and 7.

4.1 Historical indexicality formations: The process of enregisterment

As stated in the introductory chapter, speech varieties, or registers, are ideological constructs in which linguistic features become grouped together. This lines up with Agha (2007) who defines registers as ideologically constructed "cultural models of action that link diverse behavioural signs to enactable effects" (Agha 2007: 145). These models are social regularities, meaning that the linguistic features making up the individual registers are repeatedly used in specific ways for specific purposes. A register is therefore an identifiable and systematic social practice regularly put into motion observable as data (Agha 2007: 29). This sketches how I identified the three registers under study in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Through repeated listenings of large amounts of data, alongside my ethnographic knowledge of the adolescents` speech practices, I was able to demarcate the registers by attending both to the performable signs that characterised the registers, and to their situated social functions (this approach corresponds to what Agha (2007) refers to as repertoire, utterance and socio-historical perspectives on register delimitation (Agha 2007: 149)). As result, Contemporary West Jutlandic, Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* are metapragmatic typifications (Agha 2007: 148-150) that typify specific social practices relating to non-stylised (chapter 5) and stylised (chapters 6-7) speech practices (see below for further explanation).

Registers are open "historical formations" (Agha 2007: 148) that are constantly (re)valorised and transformed through recursive usage (Gal & Irvine 1995, also Irvine 2001). Agha (2003, 2005, 2007, also Silverstein 1998) calls this *enregisterment* – the socio-historical process through which linguistic features change social value over time and gain their temporal, distinctive characteristics of being indexical of social conduct and types of speakers (Agha 2007: 80). Silverstein (1985) outlines the historical process in which alterations in the indexical meanings of the second person

personal pronouns “thou/thee” and “you/ye” eventually resulted in the use of only one of these forms, “you”. Influenced by French politeness forms, a distinction between “thou/thee” and “you/ye” emerged during the thirteenth century, with the former being used when addressing a speaker of lower social status and the latter when addressing a speaker of higher social status. Moreover, the latter was also used to indicate equal relations among members of higher social classes. As result, the former was enregistered as emblematic of solidarity, non-prestige and low social status and the latter as emblematic of prestige, non-solidarity and high social status. The different forms thus indexed 1) differences in social status and asymmetrical power relations among groups of speakers, and 2) membership of higher social classes (Silverstein 1985: 244-245). However, due to societal upheaval in the seventeenth century with a concurrently increasing focus on social equality, the Quakers rejected the use of “you”, due to its non-equalitarian associations, and only used “thou”. Over time, “thou” came to index this religious group, and, consequently, speakers outside this group avoided the term. So, whereas the distinction between the different forms was formerly enregistered as indexical of social status and inequality, it now became indexical of 1) equality among members of a religious group and of 2) misalignment with this group (see Silverstein 1985: 251, also Agha 2003 on the enregisterment of RP, Beal 2009 on Geordie, Johnstone et al. 2006 and Johnstone 2010, forthc. on Pittsburghese). Two points are worth extracting from this example in relation to the present work.

Firstly, the example illuminates how the enregisterment of a speech practice is the reinforcement of perduring stereotypes that come to be “social facts” (Agha 2007: 80) about speakers and social practices. These “facts” emerge through three semiotic processes (Gal & Irvine 1995: 973-975) that establish social distinctions among groups of speakers in order to define “the self against some imagined “other”” (Gal & Irvine 1995: 975, also Agha 2003 253-254). The first of these processes involves iconicity. This refers to the fact that when some indexical social values are repeatedly taken to represent or voice groups of speakers or ways of doing, these values become stereotypic icons of these groups or practices. In extract 4.1, Ane employs linguistic features stereotypically associated with conservative, upper class Copenhagen speech. Her opening of /a/ in “altså”, for example, is a well-established stereotypification of speakers living in the affluent areas north of Copenhagen. As result, it is a much-used resource in satirical representations of these speakers, e.g. the two wealthy men, Fritz and Poul, in Krysters Kartel, a satirical show on national broadcast television, who spend their time drinking champagne in the sun in their pastel-coloured clothes,

while they badmouth less affluent or less fortunate people. Having been thus enregistered, this linguistic feature has become an indexical icon of – indeed, a social fact about – the rich, posh and powerful people living in the Copenhagen area, and which can be successfully employed when speakers disaffiliate with, and take the mick out of, this social group (see section 4.3 for further analysis of extract 4.1). The second process is recursiveness and refers to the snowballing process through which projections of difference in one area of social life, e.g. linguistic differences, recurs in other areas, e.g. as religious distinctions in Silverstein´s example above. The third process, erasure, underlines how the reiteration of particular ideologically-informed stereotypes about social groups or social practices renders other social phenomena invisible. Harris & Rampton (2014) dwell on erasure as a constraining element in linguistic research and argue for an approach methodologically informed by linguistic ethnography and microanalysis. To prove their point, they exemplify with the analysis of an episode involving three young girls of British, Indian and Pakistani descents. A boy has contacted one of the girls, and as she asks the others help her get rid of him, they refer to him as "kale", a derogatory Punjabi term meaning "black boy" and, a little later, employ a marked Indian English voice. The authors describe a decade-long foregrounding of race and ethnicity in Britain, both politically and media-wise. As the use of "kale" and Indian English could be embedded in racial hostility and ethnic disaffiliation in a multicultural context, the danger of jumping to conclusions and read this dominant idiom into the girls` linguistic activities seems likely. However, the authors` fine-grained analysis shows that the girls are in fact more preoccupied with friendship and male-female relations than with race and ethnicity. So, what is at stake here is, that an influential idiom such as ethnicity can be taken as the default line of interpreting the girls` activities, but without it being oriented to or up for graps in the ongoing interaction. Ethnicity thereby silences other readings and hinders other stories about these girls being told. In a similar vein, chapter 3 describes how rural Denmark is reduced to a periphery in political and public discourse through iconicity, recursivenss and erasure.

Secondly, the example illustrates that the process of enregisterment entails that when we study the use and the indexical valences of registers among groups of speakers, we study "snapshots of a phase in enregisterment for particular users" (Agha 2007: 170). The "thou/thee" and "you/ye" example displays how different eras and different societal processes foster different indexicalities. In that example, the indexical transformations spread over centuries, but transformation can take place between single generations, too. This point is of particular importance in relation to West

Jutlandic dialect in Oksbøl (see chapter 6): Danish dialects are often described in terms of apparent- and real-time distribution (e.g. Kristensen 1977, Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992, Schøning & Pedersen 2009, Monka 2013, Monka & Hovmark forthc.) in order to describe linguistic changes (and, to varying degrees, how these relate to societal changes). A necessary epistemological assumption in such studies is that the same linguistic resources are used the same way– and index the same things – across generations, so that it becomes a matter, only, of there being more or less numerical distributions of a particular feature among different groups of speakers. This assumption requires that scholars ignore that social meanings are not stable, but changeable entities. As we see in chapter 6, this is not the case in Oksbøl. What we find here is that the same dialect features are used across different age cohorts, and as such they could – on a very initial level – be considered linguistic representations of one single register. Closer analyses, however, refute this point and demonstrate how the dialect usage among the different generations in fact represents different dialect registers within the small community, which again represent different cultural models indexing different ways of being in the world (Madsen et al. 2016b: 14).

The indexical stereotypes represent larger social structures, so that they come to indicate how a society is dispersed, layered and structured (e.g. Jaspers 2011, Rampton 2006, Snell 2010). Madsen (2013) provides an example. She scrutinises the enregisterment of the two contrasting registers referred to as "integrated" and "street language" among Copenhagen youth. By comparing metalinguistic reflections on language use with situated use of the two ways of speaking, she taps into the ideologically driven stereotypical values associated with them, and how they are indicative of large-scale socio-structural processes. She finds that "integrated" is linked to specific performable signs, such as distinct pronunciation, academic vocabulary and ritual politeness phrases that are associated with authority, academic skills and higher social class (Madsen 2013: 127). The performable signs of "street language", by contrast, include slang, polylingual practices and distinct phonological features associated with academic non-prestige, toughness, masculinity and minority street culture (Madsen 2013: 133). Thus, the two registers are cultural models that are expressed through ideologically distinct linguistic signs, and that come to index oppositional social positions and ideological perceptions of high and low social status (for other studies see Busch 2013, Hill 2005, Jaspers 2011, Karrebæk 2016, Madsen 2013, Madsen & Svendsen 2015, Rampton 2006, Silverstein 1985). Consequently, the indexical values become socio-ideological demarcating devices (Gal & Irvine 1995: 971, also chapter 8). However, some registers are more heavily

invested ideologically, and in such cases, the indexical values seem more palpable and/or explicitly addressed in interactions. In the following chapters we see how the adolescents ascribe very different stereotypic social positions to the registers Contemporary West Jutlandic, Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk*, and how, in so doing, they align with these indexical "facts" in significantly distinctive ways. Silverstein`s (2003) conception of *orders of indexicality* provides a useful explanation to this disparity.

4.2 Different levels of ideological distinction: Orders of indexicality

The social values indexically associated with a register may be more or less well-established and widespread, more or less subject to metapragmatic commentary and more or less effective for linguistic creativity (e.g. Johnstone et al. 2006, Madsen 2015b), depending on how far-reaching the iconicity process in the enregisterment of the register is. Or, to put it another way, how marked or unmarked the use of a register is ideologically. This implies that a process of enregisterment contains distinct stages (Madsen 2015b: 125), which display different social positions and ideological approaches in relation to the stereotypic social potentials linked to the register (Silverstein 2003: 194, what was referred to as "snapshots" in the preceding section). Silverstein (2003) refers to such stages as orders of indexicality. These come in "integral, ordinal degrees" (Silverstein 2003: 193), meaning that they make up a potentially endless chain of ideological perceptions of language use and social value that build on, support and transform each other. These ideological perceptions erect from a range of indexical presuppositions that speakers orient to when employing a register. These perceptions concern 1) how appropriate the use of the features is in the ongoing interaction, and 2) what the social effects and outcomes of this situated usage may be. It is through such constant normative monitoring and (mis)alignment that linguistic registers and their associated social values are revalorised and transformed and that new indexical presuppositions emerge. In this sense, the indexical orders emphasise the dialectic relation between the situated usage of linguistic resources and the emergence of social stereotypes and larger macro-scale processes of language variation and change. Madsen (2015b) investigates the social impact of giving a register a new label, because "the metapragmatic labels we attach to such practices contribute significantly to their social enregisterment by hinting at indexical links between speech repertories, typical speakers, social-interpersonal relationships and associated forms of conduct" (Madsen 2015b: 124). She looks at how ethnic minority Danish youth redress a traditionally widespread way of speaking (Copenhagen-centred) Standard Danish by labelling it "Integrated",

and how – in this process –it becomes immersed with overt ideologically-driven social meaning. On the one hand, "Integrated" is tied to a foreigner persona that conforms with mainstream Danish cultural norms and practices, and on the other, how it is reinterpreted as conservative standard practices linked to politeness, respectfulness and high status (see also description of Madsen 2013 in section 4.1). Thus, the study shows how the new label operates in concert with the emergence of new indexical presuppositions, whereby the register is lifted out of its former indexical order and enregistered anew (e.g. also Johnstone 2010).

All registers can, in a process of enregisterment, develop from a 1st order indexicality, what Silverstein (2003: 193) calls *n*-th order indexicality, to a higher order indexicality, a *n*+1st order indexicality, sometimes referred to as 2nd or 3rd order indexicality (e.g. Johnstone et al. 2006). Silverstein (2003: 217-222) outlines the distinctions between the different orders through Labov´s (1972) tripartite division of sociolinguistic variables: indicator, marker and stereotype. An indicator is an unmarked variable characteristic of a social populace carrying little ideological awareness: "the numerical indicator for a particular speaker points to (indexes values in) a macro-social partition of a sampled population of speakers" (Silverstein 2003: 217). An indicator is therefore a *n*-th order indexicality, and in our case, the unmarked speech register Contemporary West Jutlandic, reported on in chapter 5, can meaningfully be explained as a 1st order indexicality. Markers and stereotypes, on the other hand, are variables to which ideological awareness of "alternative "way[s] of saying ´the same` thing"" (Silverstein 2003: 220) but to which "different ways of being" (Eckert 2008: 456) attach, and which operate at higher indexical orders. Markers are variables that have become marked linguistic entities and thereby potentially become subject to metapragmatic commentary. Stereotypes "are markers that have tilted in the direction of ideological transparency" (ibid) and that are subject to metacommentary, such as being suitable for use in stylisations. This explanation might seem to imply two things: 1) that higher indexical orders are more heavily loaded ideologically than sociolinguistic resources operating as *n*-th order indexicalities, and 2) that the different orders work as segregated entities and inform a linear progression (e.g. Johnstone et al. 2006) in indexical load. Firstly, Silverstein (1998) stresses that, as indexicality and ideology are part and parcel, "there is no possible *absolutely* preideological – that is, *zero-order*, social semiotic" (Silverstein 1998: 129). Thus, when the adolescents in chapter 5 index Contemporary West Jutlandic as "rigsdansk" ("Standard Danish") and link it to the local geographical area, they flag ideological perceptions of routine speech practices and demonstrate how routine and unmarked

registers are as immersed with indexical meaning and ideological load and are equally subject to metapragmatic commentary (Silverstein 1998: 130, also Johnstone 2010: 401, note 2). The issue is therefore not whether or not some registers are more indexically laden, but rather that it is a question of how the ideological perceptions are displayed and embodied in situated usage, of how much the underlying ideological perceptions are foregrounded (also Jaspers 2011: 500), and finally how speakers align with these perceptions. This is key in the distinction between marked and unmarked speech performances. Secondly, Silverstein (2003: 194) points out the dialectic relation between the distinct orders, which implies that the boundaries between the distinct orders are not clear-cut. Johnstone et al. (2006) examine the changing enregisterment of local speech practices in Pittsburgh over the course of a century. They find that as speakers increasingly become aware of the existence of a local speech variety labelled Pittsburghese, they increasingly add overt stereotypical meaning to the register in what appears a hierarchical schemata of 1^{st}, 2^{nd} and 3^{rd} order indexicalities. In the present case, however, the indexical orders prove to be of a much less hierarchical and a much more dynamic nature. Chapter 5 reports on the adolescents` non-stylised speech performance, labelled Contemporary West Jutlandic. The regional variant [ʌ] of the variable OR turns out to be much-used among the adolescents in non-stylised contexts (see Figure 5.1), but on other occasions the adolescents ascribe marked indexical value to this feature (see extract 7.2). The fact that the same linguistic feature can operate at different indexical stages highlights that the orders are not necessarily in linear progression or are not disintegrated entities (see also the use of [ð] in chapter 6: Table 6.1 and description of dialect variants section 6.1).

The framework of orders of indexicality has become widespread in recent sociolinguistic work (e.g. Bucholtz 2009, Kiesling 2004, 2009, Madsen 2015b, Snell 2010), and scholars have introduced a range of "indexical complexi[ties]" (Ochs 1990: 294-295) to be added to the orders (e.g. Kiesling (2009: 179) introduces the spatial metaphor of interior and exterior indexicality). Of these, the indexical field (Eckert 2008) and the distinction between direct and indirect indexicality (Ochs 1990, Hill 2005) are of particular interest to the present context. Both highlight the fact that social stereotypes do not operate in a vacuum, but that there is a dynamic and fluid relation between types of stereotypes.

4.2.1 Indexical valence: The indexical field and direct/indirect indexicality

Some linguistic features have broad indexical scopes and may index a range of different social meaning potentials. Eckert (2008) refers to such scope as an indexical field, a "constellation of ideologically related meanings, any of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable" (Eckert 2008: 454). Similarly to Silverstein, Eckert stresses that social meaning ascriptions to linguistic features are fluid and constantly subject to change, and that the social meaning potentials express ideologically informed notions of groups of speakers, social practices, norms and beliefs. Karrebæk (2016) investigates how the indexicalities of "wallah" are continuously revalorised and in a state of constant emergence. By looking at how eight year-olds negotiate and ascribe social meaning to the lexicon, she finds that, in this process, the speakers involve and draw on a polycentricity of norm centres. For instance, "wallah" may be indexical of Arabic, of an urban youth style, of a religious register not to be used in vain, used as a as a swear word or slang, or it may be indexical of a transgression of institutional norms. Thus, in sketching out the indexical field, she finds that "wallah" is a resourceful linguistic item with many interactional possibilities.

The analyses in the following chapters illustrate how the indexical fields are expressed and mediated by social encounters, and how the indexical valences of linguistic features are constitutively related in a dialectic interchange in which the one indexical stereotype produces and reproduces the other. This means that within the contextual frame, the different indexicalities go hand-in-hand, that is; a process of ideological recursiveness (Gal & Irvine 1995). This means that the social meaning of, say, situated Stylised *københavnsk* may be indexically layered. Ochs (1990) describes this complex relation as involving direct and indirect indexicality. This attends to how some social stereotypes tag along others, and that in voicing one stereotype, speakers often reproduce other stereotypes, that are only achieved indirectly. That means that "a features of the communicative event is evoked indirectly through the indexing of some *other* feature of the communicative event" (Ochs 1990: 295). As example, Ochs (1990) uses the Japanese sentence-final particles *zo*, *ze* and *wa* that at one and the same time index affective stances and male and female voices: Directly, *zo*, *ze* index a forceful, intensive stance and *wa* indexes a soft, hesitant stance. The particles evoke socio-cultural notions and expectations of gendered behaviour, so that a forceful stance indirectly comes to index, or, in Gal and Irvine´s (1995) terms, to be iconic of, a male voice, whereas a delicate stance indirectly indexes a female voice. According to Ochs, direct indexicality points to a subjective orientation towards ongoing interaction, whereas the indirect indexicality

points to the association of linguistic features with larger ideological stereotypes. Hill (2005) provides an illustrative example of the dialectic relation between direct and indirect indexicality in her study of the enregisterment of Mock Spanish "mañana" among monolingual English speakers. She looks at the indexical valence of 56 examples of the word and finds that these "exhibit a narrow range of ´keys`" (Hill 2005: 113), a small range of stereotypic icons within a limited indexical field. "mañana" is directly indexical of speakers of Spanish in interactions involving humour or insults, pointing to an easy-going, relaxed persona. Indirectly, however, these indexicalities point to indexicalities of racist stereotypes about Spanish speakers as being filthy, laxy, sexually promiscuous and corrupt. Interestingly, Hill finds that whereas monolingual English speakers, who produce such stereotypes, find them funny, native Spanish speakers do not. This underlines that language practices and ideological perceptions are cultural-specific (e.g. Agha 2003: 233, also 2007, Johnstone & Pollak 2016, Meek 2006), and that the ability to ascribe and identify specific indexical values depends on speakers` language socialisation and cultural upbringing (e.g. Ochs 1990). This point turned out to be a particular isssue in my work with the data on Stylised *københavnsk*, when I presented some of it at data sessions with (many) Copenhagen and Jutland colleagues at University of Copenhagen. One of the data episodes, extract 7.1 (see chapter 7) exemplifies language socialisation when Ane reprimands her younger sister`s use of Stylised *københavnsk*, similarly to what we saw in extract 4.1. According to Ane, Asta transgresses acceptable, local speech norms. The episode encapsulates a widely known Jutlandic stereotypic notion of Copenhagen speech as inappropriate and illustrates a prototypical response to inappropriate Copenhagen speech. When presented to this episode, a colleague of Jutland descent suggested that this one episode was possibly all the data I needed to tell the story of Jutlanders` ideological perceptions of Copenhagen speech. My Copenhagen colleagues, on the other hand, did not necessarily recognise this stereotype or its cultural value. Consequently,

> "[t]here is no necessity, of course, that such evaluations [of language practices] always be consistent with each other society-internally; in fact their mutual inconsistency often provides crucial evidence for the co-existence of distinct, socially positioned ideologies of language within a language community" (Agha 2003: 242).

In the following chapters, we see how the Oksbøl adolescents draw on and reinforce indexical fields, when they employ features associated with Contemporary West Jutlandic, Stylised *vestjysk*

and Stylised *københavnsk*. That is, the adolescents tap into an locally construted ideological pool of meaning potentials associated with the particular speech styles (e.g. Irvine 2001: 22), and that the immediate context structures what particular meaning potential is momentarily invoked and made relevant. However, the linguistic features operate at different indexical orders: Features associated with Contemporary West Jutlandic describe the adolescents` unmarked, non-stylised routine speech practices and as such is a 1st order indexical, as already mentioned. Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk*, on the other hand, are higher order indexicals. This ordering affects how the adolescents align with and what social positions they can possibly take up in relation to the social values indexed by the linguistic features. This is no doubt linked to the ideological perceptions of these features. Chapter 5 exemplifies the adolescents` metacomments on Contemporary West Jutlandic, the local dialect and Copenhagen speech, and whereas the former is labelled "normal" and "standard", the latter two are portrayed as somewhat abnormal and marked and associated with elder speakers or Copenhagen speakers. Consequently, Contemporary West Jutlandic is what they do, when they do "normal", that is; when they align and affiliate and carry out an unmarked, non-stylised activity, whereas the "abnormal" comes to signal a marked misalignment in order to set up social distinctions. Describing Contemporary West Jutlandic as "normal" and "standard" were standard responses within the year group, and generally, the adolescents had very little reflexive commentary to add to descriptions of this register. As indexical of unmarked normality – pure and simple – this, in turn, affected the scope of the indexical field indexed by these features. The abnormal, by contrast, was subject to much more explicit metapragmatic commentary and stigmatisation. As we see in chapters 6 and 7, the abnormal allows for a lot more creativity, because the adolescents are able to voice a variety of different interrelated indexical values in order to disaffiliate with the abnormal. In that sense, the indexical fields of Stylised *vestjysk* and, especially, Stylised *københavnsk* seem somewhat "broader", because the abnormal can be expressed in several different ways. But what do I mean when I talk about the normal/abnormal, unmarked/marked? Extract 4.1 demonstrates one way of performing a marked social practice that interferes with "normal" social practices, when Ane puts on a stylised Copenhagen voice. The final part of this chapter describes the characteristics of stylisation.

4.3 The situated reanimation of language ideology: Stylisation

Stylisation (e.g. Bennett 2012, Coupland 2001, 2007, Jaspers 2006, 2011, Madsen 2015, Rampton 2006, 2009, Snell 2010) is a snippet of social, reflexive practice which involves a speaker`s

temporary incorporation of someone else`s voice put on display for closer inspection by his/her speaking partners. A stylisation has three interactional functions that relate to 1) changes in sequential activity, 2) social alignment and 3) the situated pinning down of large-scale ideological perceptions.

When speakers interact, they activate and orient to interpretive schemata that allow them to "locate, perceive, identify and label" (Ochs: 1900: 87) what goes on in the social encounter, what they can expect to happen next and what would be an appropriate next-action to the situation on hand. Goffman (1974: 22) refers to such schemata as social frameworks – socio-cultural formations that set up typifications for the adolescents` anticipations of and behavioural moves in social encounters (Goffman 1974: 27). Consequently, frames help participants in interaction to coordinate their social activity together and to come to some sort of agreement of what is going on interactionally. When speakers act within and in relation to such frameworks, they subscribe to a variety of "guided doings" (Goffman 1974: 22). These are social activities that help maintain and/or alter the existing interpretive frame. So, firstly, stylisation is a guided doing that momentarily interrupts the present frame. This happens when speakers temporarily "produce specially marked and often exaggerated representations of languages, dialects, and styles that lie outside their own habitual repertoire (at least as this is perceived within the situation at hand)" (Rampton 2009: 149). Speakers thus produce "secondary representations" (Rampton 2006: 225, building on Bakhtin´s description of stylisation (Bakhtin 1981)), that is; they put on voices ideologically perceived as belonging to someone else. Hence, a stylisation foregrounds a particular speech practice along with social values associated with this practice and thereby forces co-participants to mobilise their metalinguistic knowledge (Rampton 2006: 361) of this particular practice in order to figure out whose voice the stylisation is supposed to represent, and how it meaningfully ties up with ongoing talk (Jaspers 2011: 499). When speakers engage in stylisation, they therefore add another interpretive frame to, and ultimately alter, the proceeding conversation.

Secondly, stylisation is a reflexive practice that allows speakers to comment on ongoing interaction. Stylisation has a "twofold direction" (Bakhtin 1984: 185) that involves the collision between an author`s voice (the "authentic" speaker, or Ane in extract 4.1) and an animator`s voice (the "inauthentic" voice, the secondary representation or Ane`s Copenhagen voice). Bakhtin (1984) calls this clash of voices "double-voicing" (Bakhtin 1984: 182), the metalinguistic dialogic relation

between a speaker and his/her speech. The double voicing may tilt in one direction more than in the other: It may be unidirectional, meaning that the stylised voice is (more or less) in concert with the speaker`s social stance, or it may be varidirectional so that there is significant distance between the speaker and the projected voice. The employment of a stylised voice therefore enables speakers to project how they socially align with an activity and other speakers, either through their projections of stereotypic images of types of speakers and types of conduct (e.g. Jaspers 2011, Karrebæk 2016) or through stylisations functioning as "fleeting colouration added to ordinary interaction" (Rampton 2009: 165). A stylisation is therefore an instance of what Goffman (1981) calls a change in "footing", the alteration when a "[p]articipant`s alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self is somehow at issue" (Goffman 1981: 128). When a speaker changes footing, s/he alters the interpretive frame of the communicative event, as in the example above, because "[a] change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance." (ibid.). To do so, Ane in extract 4.1 designs her utterance in a way that sets apart its distinctive character from the surrounding talk. Goffman (1974) refers to such activity as "key" and "keying", defined as "the [systematic] set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some [social] framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else" (Goffman 1974: 43-44). Thus, keys and keying are cues that indicate the situated alteration of a particular interpretive frame. Ane`s Copenhagen voice therefore keys her contribution in a specific way. However, in order for her contribution to be successfully implemented in the interaction at hand and to prevent a momentary breakdown of the communicative event, the following points need to be in place (Goffman 1974: 45):

1) The transformation has to build on and relate to an already meaningful social framework. While the keying introduces a new interpretive frame, this new frame is only meaningful if it gets contextualised within the confines of the previous frame (Rampton 2006: 225).
2) The participants in the social encounter need to acknowledge and recognise the transformation. In response to the tease, Asta tries to get back at Ane by retaliating with another teasing element "nanananananana". She thereby projects an understanding of what new interpretive framework Ane´s employment of a Copenhagen voice adheres to.

However, as stylisation contains a voice that conflicts with the speaker`s habitual speech performance, it signifies "strategically inauthenticity" (Coupland 2007: 154). This means that Ane`s

double-voiced Copenhagen utterance on the one hand frames Asta`s projected stance as sophisticated and posh. On the other, however, her marked voice indicates strategic inauthenticity and thereby distance. As her projected acknowledgment, then, is not to be taken at face value, Ane`s contribution therefore comes across as the misalignment with her sister, however jocularly framed. This means that rather than a somewhat positive reaction to Asta`s utterance, Ane`s employment of the Copenhagen voice hinges on a critical stance which seemingly deems Asta`s linguistic framing as somewhat unfitting or too much in the present context (see extract 7.1 for similar example of interaction among the two siblings). Being strategically inauthentic is therefore a resource in interaction (also Chun 2013), because it enables speakers to perform social activities that could be considered face-threatening and by other means socially dangerous (e.g. extracts 6.7 and 7.9). In the following chapters, we see how the adolescents are, at times, rather critical of one another, but how these stances are mitigated under the covers of double-voiced strategically inauthenticity (i.e. extract 7.6).

Thirdly, stylisation connects situated language practice with wider circulating social processes and ideological notions. Through marked, exaggerated representations of speech practices, a stylisation "entail[s] an objectification of speech practices and highlight[s] the symbolic loadings" (Rampton 2006: 364) and illustrates how these are communicated, reinforced and (re)valourised in situated language use. Stylisations are therefore "ideological sites" (Silverstein 1998: 136, also Bennett 2012, Eckert 2008) – situated instances where marked ideological perceptions pop up in conversation and become overtly available for consumption and analysis. Or, as Agha has it, where ideologies "are formulated and disseminated in social life" (Agha 2007, also Rampton (2006: 334) on stylisations as "ideological becoming", a process "experimenting by turning persuasive discourse into speaking persons" (Bakhtin 1981: 348)). Stylisations thereby project speakers` social positions in larger societal structures through stylised voicings of social sameness and difference and notions of acceptable and non-acceptable social behaviour (Jaspers 2011: 517). In a study like this that has as part of its aim to scrutinise how youngsters in a rural area position themselves in relation to large-scale social structures, stylisations are therefore ideal points to unearth such takes on social life.

4.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter has outlined how linguistic practices are expressive of indexical meaning potentials and immersed with ideological perceptions of being. Stylisation has been identified as a reflexive guided doing which involves the explicit indexical value-ascription to linguistic features or structures. As such, it is a metapragmatic typification that emphasises ideological perceptions of speakers and practices. In the data of this project, stylisations occurred every sixth minute. They were, of course, not evenly distributed in the data, and generally, I found that stylisations were much more frequently occurring among peers than in intergenerational conversations, and that the adolescents performed more stylised activities than their elder family members, the teachers and the social workers. The stylisations included the use of vast varieties of different kinds of English (e.g. American English, RP, Indian English), different snippets of Danish dialects, Swedish, Spanish, Mock German, Mock Arabic alongside the use of features associated with "Street Language" (e.g. Madsen 2013), and were often accompanied by other cues to signal a momentary disruption, for instance laughter and alterations in voice quality. Often, the stylisations functioned as a "fleeting colouration added to ordinary interaction, their indexicalities rather indeterminate and much more a matter of stance than of social type" (Rampton 2009: 165). However, some registers seemed much more apt for stylisation than others. Of these, the traditional, local dialect, West Jutlandic, and Copenhagen speech stood out as more prominently used and as carrying explicit indexical and ideological load. One reason for this might be that

> dialect varieties are particularly well configured for stylized performance because they do generally constitute known repertoires with known socio-cultural and personal associations – such as high/low socio-economic status, urban/rural, sophisticated/unsophisticated, trustworthy/untrustworthy, or dynamic/dull (Coupland 2001: 350)

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 elaborate on this point, and it leads to the final remark in this chapter, namely that individual registers gain their distinctive characteristics in intimate relation – and opposition – to other registers (e.g. Irvine 2001, Rampton 2006, see chapter 7, Madsen 2013, see description above). That is; they are enregistered as distinctive in order to help speakers define who they are in relation to other speakers and social practices. As we will see, Contemporary West Jutlandic, Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* serve different social functions and social positions,

because they operate at different indexical levels. Until quite recently, stylisation has been "given the cold shoulder in variationist sociolinguistics" (Jaspers 2011: 500), with its focus on "authentic" speech practices (e.g. Labov 1972), and in the description of stylisation above, I have defined it as strategically inauthenticity. However, the mere distinction and definition of some speech practices as authentitic/inauthentic are ideological constructs (e.g. Johnstone 2010: 401) that underline the stylised and non-stylised speech practices being two sides of the same coin (e.g. Silverstein 1998: 130). Jaspers (2011) therefore stresses the importance that stylised and non-stylised registers be considered "communicating vessels" (Jaspers 2011: 500), because the one informs the other through ideological perceptions of appropriate and inappropriate language use, and, in combination, elucidate why some registers go out of use while others prevail. So, in order to understand how Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* develop their distinctive performable signs and acquire their indexical valence, we start out by elucidating the distinctive characteristics of the adolescents` non-stylised speech performances, Contemporary West Jutlandic. Later, in chapter 8, we take a closer look at how the two stylised registers differ from each other.

Chapter 5: Unmarked speech practices among Contemporary West Jutlandic youth

As a useful entry point for the investigation of the stylisations in later chapters, the aim of this chapter is to locate the adolescents` unmarked speech practices in the sociolinguistic landscape in Oksbøl and in Denmark more generally (see Madsen 2015a: 126-127, Rampton 2006: 252-261 for similar approaches). It provides quantitative analyses of the habitual use of ten linguistic variables among nine adolescents. Some of these variables cover variation between variants associated with supralocal Jutlandic, traditional dialect and Standard Danish. The supralocal forms are to be expected in mundane speech among Jutlanders and have previously been studied in variationist studies (e.g. Jul Nielsen 1998, Christensen 2012). Other variables are new in structural descriptions of Jutland speech and cover variation between Modern and Conservative Copenhagen-based Standard forms (e.g. Maegaard 2007, Pharao 2010). Among the Oksbøl adolescents, the Modern variants serve as the innovative forms. The focus on linguistic variants is, however, only part of the explanation why some linguistic resources are routinely employed in stylisations and not are others. Before embarking on the analyses, the adolescents` own reflections on their speech practices are therefore presented. These in some ways contrast the results of the analyses and indicate that ideological perception of appropriate/inappropriate social practices, including language use, is an important factor in the distinction between marked and unmarked speech.

I label the unmarked speech practices portrayed here *Contemporary West Jutlandic*. It has no name among the adolescents, but they most often refer to it as "normal" or less commonly, as Ulrik does in extract 5.1, as "rigsdansk" ("standard"). I prefer Contemporary West Jutlandic to labels such as "rigsdansk" and "jysk regionalsprog" ("Regional Jutlandic", see argument below) because

- It highlights the historicity of the register (e.g. Rampton 2015: 43) and encapsulates the unmarked co-existence of speech forms associated with different ways of speaking, i.e. supralocal forms, Copenhagen forms and classical dialect forms. It thereby underlines the fluidity and hybridity of the register.
- "Contemporary" is a much-used label in recent studies of language in globalisation (e.g. Madsen 2013 on contemporary urban speech style among youth in Copenhagen and Rampton 2015 on contemporary urban vernacular among adults in Southall, London). By

using this label, I juxtapose it to urban speech practices in order to emphasise that Contemporary West Jutlandic is equally a late-modern phenomenon. The main difference being the linguistic features included in the registers (Arabic and slang in inner-Copenhagen and Punjabi and Cockney in Southall), that is; differences in speakers` register range (Agha 2007: 146, also section 2.4).

- "West Jutlandic" because it underscores the distinctive locality positioning of this register in contrast to other unmarked speech practices in Denmark, Jutland in particular. Whether this register differs in any significant ways from other contemporary Jutland speech styles is questionable and an issue for future studies (see Monka & Hovmark (forthc.) for a different situation in Southern Jutland).
- "Contemporary West Jutlandic" helps steer free of the label "regionalsprog". A recurrent issue in structural studies of Standard Danish-dialect variation is that of the existence of "regionalsprog" (e.g. Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992, Pedersen 1986, Pedersen & Horneman Hansen 1996, Petersen 2013) to understand the change from dialect to standard more fully. "Regionalsprog" is described as a local high variety (Ejskjær 1964: 40, Jul Nielsen & Pedersen 1991: 9) that signifies an intermediate step in dialect levelling. It is available to dialect speakers as they leave behind their local dialect in favour of (an approximation to) Standard Danish (e.g. Pedersen 2011: 164). Since it was first introduced in Danish dialectology (Ejskjær 1964: 40), the justification of its existence has been widely problematised and contested (e.g. Brink 1986, Jørgensen 1983, Kristiansen 1992, Monka 2013). Studies addressing the question have not found sufficient linguistic evidence for its existence (e.g. Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992, Kristensen 1977, Pedersen 2011), and from the very beginning, its definition has been unclear and muddy (see, e.g. Kristiansen 1992, Pedersen 1996 for critique). This has led Kristiansen (1992), among others, to reject the existence of a Danish "regionalsprog". The aim of this thesis is not to categorise the adolescents` unmarked speech practices on a Standard Danish-dialect continuum, which – keeping the heavy standardisation in mind – does not seem a very fruitful endeavour. However, and more important to this argument, "regionalsprog" embeds an ideological notion of the speech style – as that of a regional register which subordinates and contrasts to central, more standard way of speaking. The Oksbøl youth do not routinely monitor such ideological notions, even if they, at times, flag ideological awareness of their habitual ways of speaking as inferior to Standard Danish (see extract 7.2). More often, they evaluate their

unmarked speech practices as "normal" or, pure and simple, "Danish" (extract 5.1) or as a locally rooted normative standard (extract 7.1).

The first sections in this chapter presents the linguistic situation of present-day Denmark (section 5.1) and the adolescents` reflections on local speech practices (section 5.2). Section 5.3 describes the ten variables under study, and section 5.4 presents the data, the coding prodecure and the results. Finally, section 5.5 discusses how the unmarked speech practice and local metalinguistic commentaries are embedded in larger socio-ideological frameworks.

5.1 The sociolinguistic landscape of present-day Denmark

The dominant story of the linguistic changes in Denmark during the 20th century is the story of a bilateral process of sociolinguistic centralisation and peripheralisation evolving around an all-pervading standardisation process on the one hand, and, on the other, rapid dialect levelling. Denmark traditionally was a dialect speaking society (e.g. Kristiansen 2009), but today it is characterised by a high degree of linguistic homogeneity (Kristiansen 2009: 168, Pedersen 2003, 2005). This is the result of centuries-long concentrations of economic, political and cultural power in and around the capital, Copenhagen. The city therefore holds a central socio-cultural position (also chapter 3), and linguistically, it is the only Danish norm centre (Kristiansen 2009, 2015: 101). According to Brink & Lund (1975: 69) the sociolinguistic centralisation emanates from a continuous awarding of prestige to the city. During 19th and 20th century Denmark, the dominating development has been that linguistic features associated with the Copenhagen working classes spread to the Copenhagen middle classes and from there to the rest of the country (Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1993: 251, Madsen 2015a: 123-124). In this process, the features eventually become Standard Danish forms. What we find today in most corners of Denmark is a Copenhagen-based standard language. Kristiansen, Pharao & Maegaard (2013: 355) therefore describes the Danish standardisation process as a "Copenhagenisation". As sociolinguistic centralisation characterises Copenhagen, sociolinguistic peripheralisation dominates the language changes in rural areas such as Oksbøl and West Jutland. Due to a drastically declining use of traditional dialects over the last forty years or so, most dialects within these areas are near-extinct (Pedersen 2003, Schøning & Pedersen 2009). Chapter 6 provides a micro-analytically grounded description of present-day dialect use among the Oksbøl adolescents, but as chapter 6 as well as some of the variable analyses in this chapter illustrate, using classical dialect features is not a preeminent practice among the

adolescents. Still, the adolescents are easily distinguishable as (West) Jutlanders, presumably due to characteristic prosodic patterns.

According to Kristiansen, Maegaard & Pharao (2011, also 2013, see also chapter 7 on Stylised *københavnsk*) the homogenisation, based on a Copenhagen-centred standard norm, has erased most regional differences in Denmark at lexical, phonetic and morphological levels. Today, what remains as regional linguistic colouring is most noticeably identified as prosodic differences, intonation especially (Kristiansen 2015: 101). At this point a brief illustration of the adolescents` habitual intonation is therefore in place, but a thorough analysis, however, lies outside the scope of this work (see Grønnum 1992, Kyst 2008, Tøndering 2010). Intonation refers to the tonic sequencing, the speech melody, of linguistic features in talk (Grønnum 2005:188). It is articulated in intonation contours, which consist of prosodic stress group patterns running from the onset of one stressed syllable to the onset of the next stressed syllable. The relation between tonic and post-tonic syllables in Jutlandic speech is prototypically characterised as falling: The onset of the stressed syllable is on a high tone with a drop to the following unstressed syllable (see Kyst 2008 for a discussion of features that might complicate this picture). This is illustrated in Figure 1.1:

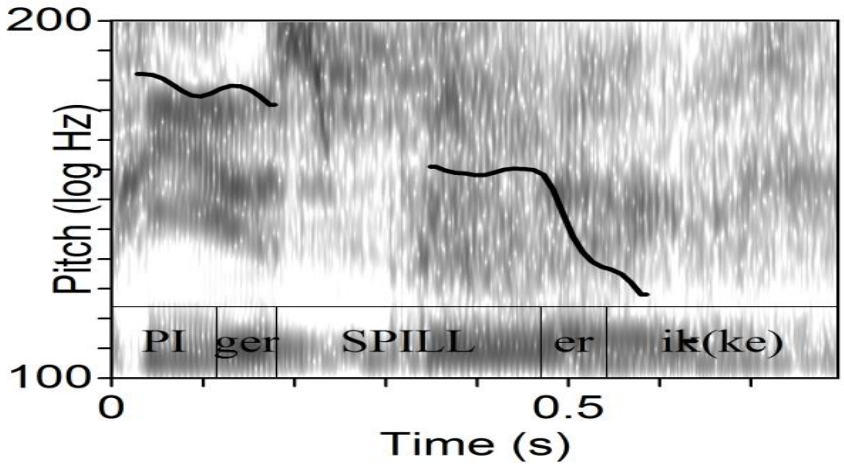

Figure 5.1: Jutlandic intonation contours in Ulrik`s description of girls` online computer gaming practices: "Piger spiller ik(ke)" ("girls do not play")[2].

The capital letters indicate the stressed syllables and the small letters unstressed ones. The figure depicts a falling intonation contour throughout the utterance, and especially in SPILLer ("play") is the onset in the stressed "SPILL-" significantly higher than the offset of the preceding unstressed

[2] Thanks to Gert Foget Hansen for providing these spectograms

syllable "-er". The falling contour is in shape contrast to a prototypical Copenhagen one in which the reverse intonation contour is characteristic (e.g. Grønnum 1992, Kyst 2008, see also section 7.3). The distinctive Jutlandic intonation clearly distinguishes the adolescents as (West) Jutlanders, and in chapter 7 we see how a Copenhagen intonation functions as the key element in distinction making.

In sum, Danish sociolinguistics focuses on the Copenhagenisation of Contemporary Danish and on dedialectalisation. In the next section, we see how the adolescents describe their habitual speech practices, and how their metalinguistic accounts differ from official descriptions.

5.2 Narratives on unmarked speech practices

When discussing local language practices, I always introduced the topic by asking "how do you speak here?". In the first three episodes in this part, we see how the adolescents provide rather different responses to this question. In the first one, Ulrik characterises local speech practices as "dansk" and "rigsdansk", that is; Standard Danish:

Extract 5.1: Group interview with Alexander, Anders and Ulrik (34:03-34:24)

01	Signe	men hvordan taler man her	but how do you speak here
(1.7)			
02	Alexander	((ler))	((laughs))
(1.4)			
03	Signe	har I tænkt over det	have you thought about that
04	Ulrik	[nej	[no
05	Alexander	[nej det har jeg ikke	[no I haven´t
06		[((ler))	[((laughs))
07	Signe	[nej=	[no=
08	Anders	=↓jysk (([œ])) ((dyb	=↓Jutlandic ((deep voice))
09		stemme)) ((ler))	((laughs))
(1.0)			
10	Ulrik	jeg synes vi taler dansk	I think we speak Danish
11		(.) jeg synes vi taler	(.) I think we speak more
12		mere rigsdansk end dem vi	Standard than the ones we

13		er i øh dem jeg cykler	are in eh the ones I ride
14		med fra Odense og	with from Odense and
15		København	Copenhagen
16	Anders	((ler)) godt[gættet	((laughs)) good [guess
17	Signe	[ja	[yes
18	Ulrik	det er nogle	sometimes
19		[gange til at grine af=	[it`s a laugh=
20	Alexander	[ja	[yes
21	Ulrik	=når de står der og	=when they stand there
22		kævler i munden på	squabbling all at
23		hinanden	once

Anders responds "jysk" ("Jutlandic", line 8) in a deep voice. He thereby maps linguistic practices onto place and thus indirectly introduces ideological distinctions between geographical places. His reply, however, comes across as inauthentic, because 1) he frames it as laughable, 2) he exaggerates a significantly low onset in the word and 3) retracts and opens the closed front vowel [y] to [œ̟]. The local practices are therefore non-standard or somehow incorrect speech compared to speech practices elsewhere. Ulrik picks up on this point from line 10 onwards. He does not address Anders` display of inauthenticity, but contradicts Anders` description when he provides a serious assessment of local speech practices: "jeg synes vi taler dansk" ("I think we speak Danish", line 10). His underlining of "dansk" points to a possible contrast between "Jutlandic" and "Danish". He further elaborates on the disagreement, when he evaluates them as speaking more "rigsdansk" (an ideologically non-localisable and neutral kind of Standard Danish) than his biking acquaintances from the (non-Jutland) large cities Odense and Copenhagen. And not only are these acquaintances less standard-speaking, they also deviate when it comes to good manners: They violate existing turn-taking norms and "squabble all at once" (lines 21-23).

After having focused my initial, open question a bit (line 1) in extract 5.2, Emilie reacts to my question on the local existence of *vestjysk* ("West Jutlandic", line 6). *Vestjysk* generally refers to the traditional, local dialect (also extract 5.3).

Extract 5.2: Conversation with Emilie and Annika (2:03-2:22)

01	Signe	altså hvordan taler man her	well how do you speak here

02	Emilie	hvordan man taler	how you speak
03	Signe	ja	yes
04	Emilie	hvad mener du	what do you mean
05	Signe	altså er der meget øh: (.)	well is there a lot of um:
06		er der meget vestjysk for	is there a lot of West
07		eksempel	Jutlandic for instance
08	Emilie	NEJ↓	NO↓
09	Annika	((ler))[nej	((laughs))[no
10	Emilie	[det er der nok ikke↓	[obviously not↓
11	Signe	nej	no

Emilie strongly rejects the routine employment of the local dialect (lines 8, 10), and Annika agrees. This is in line with official sociolinguistics on dialect levelling, but, still, the data contain examples in which the existence of the local dialect is treated very differently:

Extract 5.3: Interview with Søren (28:32-28:54)

01	Signe	men hvordan taler man	but how do you speak here
(1.8)			
02	Søren	jamen det er jo (2.0) sådan	well that´s (2.0) like
03		god (([uə])) gammel↓	good old↓
04		(([gɑm̩])) vestjysk (.)	vestjysk (.)
05		vestjysk ((ler))	vestjysk ((laughs))
06	Signe	ja	yes
(1.4)			
07	Søren	sådan ja (1.0) hh det er	like yes (1.0) hh that`s
08		jo: (1.4) nok bare sådan	(1.4) probably just how
09		man taler ((ler))	you speak ((laughs))

According to Søren, the traditional dialect characterises local speech practices, and with his naming of these as *vestjysk*, he anchors them as positioned in a specific socio-geographical space. He demonstrates familiarity with the register by including the classical dialect feature [uə], the diphthongisation of Standard Danish [oː] (see section 6.1), in "god" and a syllabic [l̩] in "gammel" ("good old", lines 3-4). Søren`s description resonates Anders` in extract 5.1, in that both point to a particular "jysk" ("Jutlandic") way of speaking that differs from Standard Danish. Yet, in contrast

to Anders, nothing suggests that Søren projects inauthenticity in his description, despite his laughter (line 5). In the final extract, Alexander describes something similar:

Extract 5.4: Group interview with Anders, Alexander and Ulrik (39:43-40:37)

01	Ulrik	jeg kan ikke engang snakke	I can´t even talk the way
02		[som han gør	[he does
03	Alexander	[altså nogle gange kan jeg	[well sometimes I can
04		også godt høre mig selv	also hear myself
05		sige nogle ord	say some words
(1.1)			
06	Ulrik	men	but
07	Alexander	som jeg ellers ikke ville	that I wouldn´t otherwise
08		have sagt sådan ellers	have said you know
09	Signe	hvad er det for nogle ord	what words are that
10	Ulrik	æl ((”kraftigt regnskyl”))	heavy shower
11	Alexander	((ler)) ja det er	((laughs)) yes that`s
12		[den der	[that
13	Anders	[((ler))	[((laughs))
14	Alexander	men (1.1) jamen (0.9) det	but (1.1) well (0.9) I
15		ved jeg ikke °kan ikke	don`t know °can`t remember
16		lige komme på noget lige	anything right
17		nu°	now°
(1.2)			
18	Signe	men er det bestemte	but is it in certain
19		situationer	situations
(1.6)			
20	Alexander	nej det er bare sådan	no it`s just something
21		noget der flyver ud	that flies out
22	Signe	ja	
23	Alexander	så ((ler)) kommer det bare	then ((laughs)) it just
24		sådan (1.4) nå↑	like comes out (1.4) oh↑
25	Signe	er der så nogen	are there then any
26		kommentarer	comments
27	Alexander	mm nej	mm no

(…)		((lines omitted))	((lines omitted))
28	Signe	du gør ikke	you don´t
29	Anders	øh nej	um no
30	Signe	nej	no
31	Anders	eller hvad skal man sige	or what to say I just
32		jeg snakker bare	talk
33	Signe	kommer til at sige:	accidentally say:
34	Anders	nej så er det mere for	no then it`s meant to be
35		sjov	funny
36	Ulrik	ja=	yes=
37	Alexander	=ja	=yes
38	Signe	er det også sådan i dit	is that the same for
39		tilfælde	you
40	Alexander	ja nogle gange er det for	yes sometimes it`s for fun
41		sjov og andre gange så	and at other times it just
42		flyver det bare ud af en	flies right out of you

Alexander reports on what I term *dialect slipping* – the accidental employment of single, unmarked dialect features in otherwise non-dialect speech. Dialect slipping refers to words one would not otherwise use (lines 3-5, 7-8) and which tend to fly out one´s mouth (lines 20-21, 40-42), and due to their low occurrences, these features remain unaccounted for in variationist studies of dialects (e.g section 2.1). With the spill cry (Goffman 1981: 101) "nå" (("oh", line 24), Alexander acts out the astonishment when dialect features surprisingly slip out. Previously, Emilie categorically rejected the use of traditional dialect, whereas Søren, in contrast, reported it as the local way of speaking. Alexander`s description falls in-between these views: That one may accidentally spurt out dialect features, but that dialect use is not part of routine speech. Anders supports this view when he reports on an unserious use of dialect features, only (lines 34-35). The dialect data examined in chapter 6 reveal that dialect slipping is rare: Out of 36 episodes of dialect use in 56 hours of audio recordings, seven are unmarked, whereas the other 29 include instances of stylised *vestjysk* (see Table 6.1). The seven episodes include nine dialect features, and of these, Søren produces five. He stood out from his peers socially, because he projected a locally-oriented masculine and rural lifestyle (see section 3.6 above) which tends to favour dialect use (Schøning & Pedersen 2009, Schøning 2010). He cannot be characterised a levelled dialect speaker, but in a context in which the use of the local dialect amounts to next to nothing among youth (see Table 6.1), he has significantly more numeric

proportions of dialect slipping than any of his peers – in conversations with his levelled dialect speaking parents and grandparents, that is.

In sum, the adolescents` metalinguistic descriptions are firstly only partly in line with mainstream sociolinguistic accounts, but all four accounts touch upon standardisation and dialect levelling. As concerns standardisation, Ulrik describes local speech practices as "Danish" in contrast to non-standard "Jutlandic" and as being more standard than speech practices associated with, among other things, Copenhagen. This view obviously contradicts Danish sociolinguistics, which documents the spread of a Copenhagen-based Standard Danish variety. Nonetheless, Ulrik`s view suggests a preference for local ways of speaking compared to other ways of speaking, and that ideological perceptions of local speech practices function as baseline for normatively evaluating other speech practices – and this often in negative terms, as hinted to by Ulrik (see also extracts 7.1 and 7.2). As concerns dialect loss, the adolescents provide strikingly different accounts: Emilie rejects the existence of the local dialect, Søren describes it as habitual speech and Alexander falls somewhere in-between. Yet, Søren and Alexander flag familiarity with traditional dialect use: Søren not only claims this knowledge, but also enacts it, and when Alexander cannot come up with an example for the moment, Ulrik helps him out by introducing the dialect "æl" ("heavy rain", line 10 – thus he refers back to a story about Alexander`s dialect-speaking grandfather that the three boys co-constructed minutes earlier). Søren`s account, especially, is in sheer contrast to sociolinguistic knowledge of dedialectalisation in Denmark, and it also contradicts my observations of the general language use among the adolescents (see also chapter 6). Still, both Søren and Alexander`s accounts suggest that the traditional dialect is a familiar linguistic resource that may be employed more or less (un)intentionally. Or, as Anders suggests, as a funny and inauthentic linguistic resource. This is the topic of chapter 6.

Secondly, their descriptions suggest a connection between linguistic practices on the one hand and notions of place and social norms on the other. Place seems to be relevant when Anders and Søren assess local speech practices as "Jutlandic" and "good old West Jutlandic", respectively. Anders` claim is not to be taken at face-value, and Søren`s claim does not correspond with my observations of speech practices while doing fieldwork or of the audio data (see also chapter 6). Still, these might project orientations towards speech practices as geographically rooted and as reflecting ideological perceptions which then amounts to something like "we live in (West) Jutland – therefore we speak

(West) Jutlandic". Dialect thus still has a say in the socio-ideological landscape among the adolescents in order to distinguish Oksbøl from other unnamed places. Ulrik seems similarly to connect language practices and place when he contrasts their habitual "Standard Danish" with the – apparently – less standard speech practices associated with Odense and Copenhagen. But he seems to further this link to include norms of social conduct in his description of how speakers from Odense and Copenhagen defy norms of appropriate social behaviour in violations of turn-taking norms. The linking of place, linguistic practices and social norms is therefore a means of social categorisation.

Consequently, the examples indicate that when the adolescents categorise their own linguistic performances, they do not only do so based on linguistic usage, but also on ideological conceptions of social behaviour concerning who does what, how and where. Therefore, their descriptions not only reflect on language practices, but also reflect manifest attitudes and perceptions of social norms. The rest of the chapters in this thesis treat how the adolescents project conceptions of linguistic resources and how they attach these to stereotypical notions of social practices in situated interactions. However, before we direct our attention to the interactional data in chapters 6-8, we turn to look at actual, unmarked speech practices among nine adolescents.

5.3 Variable descriptions

Having laid out first the mainstream account of the present-day Danish sociolinguistic landscape and then the adolescents` overt metalinguistic accounts, the remainder of this chapter provides variationist analyses of 10 sociolinguistic variables. When listening to the data, I noted down linguistic material for possible analysis. I ended up with 20 possible variables, but restricted these to the following ten. These have all previously been the focus in variationist studies. By doing so, I inscribe the Oksbøl adolescents` unmarked and non-stylised speech practices in a larger context. Moreover, I went for variables that have traditionally been ascribed to different Danish speech practices in existing literature in order to demonstrate the hybridity of these habitual speech practices. Thus, some variables are characteristic of the local dialect, some of supralocal Jutlandic speech and some of Copenhagen speech. Variation in some of the following variables is characteristic of large parts of Jutland and Funen (e.g. Christensen 2012, Jul Nielsen 1998, Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1988, 1992, Monka 2013, Pedersen 2011, Petersen 2013):

OR: The written *–or* may be realised as [o] or as lowered [ʌ] in the following words: *fjorten gjorde, gjort, historie, horn, jordbær, korn, lort, skjorte, sort, torden* (*fourteen, did, have done, history, horn, strawberry, grain, shit, shirt, black, thunder*) (Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992: 58, Jul Nielsen 1998: 55). I add *tror* (*think*) to the list (see also Monka 2013: 81). The former variant is associated with a Standard Danish pronunciation, whereas the latter is characteristic of a Jutlandic speech variety. It is common in large parts of Jutland, including South-West Jutland (Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992: 176), but – apart from a lowered vowel in *historie* in the local dialect - did not belong to the South Jutlandic dialect (Feilberg 1886-1914). Several studies of language change in the East Jutland Århus area report the Jutlandic variant to be particularly resistant to change among both elder and younger speakers (Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992: 167, Petersen 2013: 19), among rural and urban speakers (Jul Nielsen 1998: 72-73) and among both socially and geographically mobile speakers (Monka 2013: 90).

I have not analysed the variable OR, but rather the lemma *tror* (*think*). Of the 123 occurrences of the variable in the data, 106 feature as *tror* (see Appendix A). *tror* signals epistemic modality, which may be a useful social position in interview situations focusing on the expression and negotiation of opinions and world views. The interview context may therefore have some saying on the frequency of *tror*, in contrast to some of the more context specific words, such as *torden* (*thunder*). I therefore only analyse the lemma *tror* and leave out all other words included in the variable in what follows.

SÅDAN: The variation between the Jutlandic [sɔːn] pronunciation of *sådan* (*such, like this*/*that*) and Standard Danish [sʌdn̩] or [sʌnn̩]. In a large-scale sociolinguistic study of 37 variables among 82 informants living in and around Odder, just south of Århus, in the 1980s, Jul Nielsen & Nyberg (1992: 141) found the use of the Jutlandic variant coincided with higher social class, young age and living in the town of Odder. Christensen (2012:162), some 20 years later, observes even variation between the variants among adolescents of minority backgrounds living in a ghetto in Århus. Monka (2013: 90), on the other hand, describes a declining use of the Jutlandic variant among mobile and non-mobile adult speakers in Odder.

EDE: The preterite *–ede* ending in regular verbs, such as *dansede* (*danced*) may be realised as [ət] and [əd] in Jutlandic or as Standard Danish [əð]. The Jutland endings existed in several dialects in

large parts of Jutland, the South-West included (Jysk Ordbog map 6.1). Jul Nielsen (1998) investigates this variation among speakers in Århus, born 1969-1976, and compares his results with findings in Odder (Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992). He finds that the local variant is relatively prone to change (Jul Nielsen 1998: 74) and that the local variant is used similarly in both places (Jul Nielsen 1998: 68).

EN: The variation between three realisations of past participle endings of strong verbs such as *blevet* (*have been*): The traditional dialect variant [ən], the supralocal variant [əd] and the standard variant [əð]. The supralocal form is often treated as a regional, East Jutlandic variant that has spread to large parts of Jutland and Funen (for discussion see Juel Jensen & Maegaard 2010, also 2012). In their apparent and real time study of the levelling of the dialectal [ən] in Vinderup (West Jutland) and Odder (East Jutland), Juel Jensen & Maegaard (2010) find that the local variant loses ground, while standard [-əð] dominates among adolescents in both areas (Juel Jensen & Maegaard 2010: 45). My analyses build on the wordlist in Juel Jensen & Maegaard (2010: 40) along with a few additions.

ET: The variation between Jutlandic [əd] plosive endings and Standard Danish approximant [əð] endings in past participles of weak verbs (e.g. *lavet* (*have done*)), neuter, definite nouns (e.g. *huset* (*the house*)), adjectives with word final –et deflection (e.g. *tosset (crazy*)) and the adverbs *andet, eget, meget* (*other, own, very*). The Jutland ending is found in large parts of Jutland and Funen (Pedersen 2011). In Jul Nielsen and Nyberg (1992: 171) the plosive ending comes out as one of the most resistant, local variants in Odder in the late 1980s. Monka (2013) carries out a real-time study of language change among nine speakers, born 1964-1972, who were all part of the youngest age cohort in Jul Nielsen & Nyberg (1992). She examines how geographic mobility affects language practices and finds that the local variant remains resistant in adulthood among non-mobile speakers, whereas significant changes have occurred among the mobile speakers (Monka 2013: 90). The plosive ending is still considerable in the new generation of Odder adolescents, born 1991 (Pedersen 2011: 157).

In contrast to the studies above, I separate nouns from the other word classes. The South Jutlandic dialect has [əd] endings in verbs, adjectives, and some adverbs, whereas the definite article in nouns is preposed instead of suffixed, as in East Jutlandic and Standard Danish (see Jul Nielsen &

Pedersen 1991: maps 11 and 12). The definite article therefore has three possible realisations: As preposed dialect [æ], as supralocal [əd] or as Standard Danish [əð]. As a result, I analyse two distinct variables in the ET category in what follows: Verbs, adjectives and adverbs in the variable LAVET, and nouns in the variable HUSET. As becomes clear in Figure 5.1. below, this is a necessary distinction, because the distributions of the two variables differ.

Hansen (1997:15) explains how the ending in Standard Danish is realised as [əd] in contexts in which *-et* follows [ð]. This complicates the upholding of plosive and approximant endings as West and East Danish, respectively, and suggests leaving out such contexts. However, this may be an older distinction (see discussion in Juel Jensen & Maegaard 2010: 38), and I include all instances of *-et*, because the data contradicts this rule (e.g. *bæltestedet* (*the belt*), see also Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1988).

MEGET: Jul Nielsen & Nyberg (1988: 46-47) find that *meget* has a higher proportion of standard variants than other words and word classes included in the ET variable. They therefore analyse it separately, as does Monka (2013) who finds it to be relatively stable among non-mobile, but not among mobile speakers. In what follows, I likewise treat *meget* separately. However, in contrast to the East Jutland context, *meget* may come across with three possible realisations in Oksbøl: As dialect *møj*, or as [əd] or [əð]. The data does not contain any examples of the dialect variant.

In addition to the use of the above variables, I observed that the Oksbøl adolescents employ variants typical of modern, Contemporary Copenhagen (e.g. Brink & Lund 1975, Maegaard 2007). The following variables cover the variation between two Copenhagen speech varieties, historically referred to as "rigsdansk" ("Standard Danish") and "københavnsk" ("Copenhagen"), or "High Copenhagen" and "Low Copenhagen", respectively (Brink & Lund 1975). These two varieties were originally associated with high and low social status, but recent Danish sociolinguistics (e.g. Kristiansen 2009, Maegaard 2007) consider them varieties of an older versus a younger Copenhagen version and refer to these as Conservative and Modern Copenhagen (see Madsen 2015a: 123-127 for fuller description, also Kristiansen 2009). In the present context, the Conservative variants correspond to standard pronunciation among the adolescents. The variation for the following variables therefore covers variation between a Standard Danish variant (the Conservative variant in the Copenhagen studies) and a Modern Copenhagen-based standard form.

Velarised [ð]: The variation between clear [ð̞] and dark [ð̞ˠ] in stressed syllables, with the former variant being the Conservative, Standard form. Grønnum (2005: 162) mentions velarisation of [ð] as prevalent in Danish, especially among young speakers. Pharao (2009) adds to this in his investigation of how speaker voices come to be associated with specific personality traits. He analyses five segmental and phonetic variables in 12 guises used for eliciting language attitudes in Næstved, a Sealand provincial town. The guises consist of four Conservative Copenhagen, four Modern Copenhagen and four local Næstved voices. Velarisation occurs in both the Modern and, to a less extent, in the local guises, but not in the Conservative ones.

The literature on Copenhagen speech sometimes describes velarisation as a fusion of preceding vowel and [ð] (Brink & Lund 1975: 223, Maegaard 2007: 86). In this process, the vowel is reduced or disappears, whereas [ð] may become heavily velarised. In the Oksbøl, the vowel may be reduced, but seems hardly ever lost. In 33 hours of audio-recordings, however, I noticed one fusion example in context with Stylised *københavnsk*. This seems to suggest that the fusion (and the disappearance of the vowel) is a Copenhagen phenomenon. Contrary to Maegaard (2007), I therefore focus on the velarisation and not on vowel reduction in the analysis of this variable. In their study of language change in Copenhagen sociolects 1840-1955, Brink & Lund (1975: 223) describe this feature as relatively new and expanding in contexts with short front vowels /*i, e, y, ø*/ and [ð]. Maegaard (2005, 2007, also Grønnum 2005: 334) finds it to be typical of Contemporary Copenhagen in all combinations of vowel + [ð] among adolescents (Maegaard 2007: 86, 194, also Kristensen, Pharao & Maegaard 2013: 362). Similarly to Maegaard, I find velarisation preceding both front and back vowels among the Oksbøl adolescents. However, as the analysis of the variable proved difficult, especially in combinations with back vowels, I omitted contexts with back vowels + [ð] in the analyses. The variable turned out difficult to analyse, and as result, Nicolai Pharao, University of Copenhagen, analysed the speech of four of the nine speakers for this variable. There is a 93% correspondence between our analyses.

Deletion of [*w*]: The omission of semivowel [*w*] preceding syllabic [ð] in verbs such as *lavet* (*have made*). Pharao (2010) examines this variable in apparent and real time in 22 Copenhagen speakers, born 1962-1973. He finds that the variable is undergoing a process of change with the deletion increasingly becoming the norm among younger speakers born 1967-1973 (Pharao 2010: 152). Brink & Lund (1975: 352) further mention that speakers in larger cities in Jutland and on Funen

employ this variant. The Oksbøl data contain 25 occurrences of the variable, distributed as *lavet/-ede, prøvet/-ede, oplevet, blevet, skrevet,* (*(have) done/made, (have) tried, have experienced, have been/become, have written,*). Due to the low frequency, the variable is omitted from further analysis. Of the 25 occurrences, the adolescents omit the semivowel in 23. This suggests that similarly to Pharao´s findings in Copenhagen, the deletion of [*w*] seems almost obligatory in Oksbøl (see Appendix A).

Fronted [s]: This relates to the variation between Standard Danish alveolar [s] and a non-Standard dental fronting. The fronting has not traditionally been associated exclusively with Copenhagen speech, but with "ungpigelæsp" ("young girl`s lisp", Maegaard 2007: 88). However, Maegaard (2007: 195), in her study of the correlation of linguistic variation, social groups and stylistic clusters among ethnically mixed Copenhagen youth, documents it to be characteristic of Contemporary Copenhagen, especially among young girls of minority background. More recently, however, this feature is specifically associated with the contemporary urban vernacular documented among Copenhagen minority youth at an inner-city school (e.g. Hyttel-Sørensen 2016: 53, see also Pharao et al. 2014).

5.4 Results

The following analyses build on auditory analyses of the performances of nine speakers in three group interviews. The interviews consist of three boys and six girls and include three of the four focal participants, Anders, Ane and Marie, along with their two best friends within the year group. All nine participants figure in several self-recordings. The interviews deal with discussions of social groups in Oksbøl, Oksbøl compared to the nearby towns Esbjerg, Nørre Nebel and Varde and of local linguistic practices. The interviews last between 40 and 60 minutes and were transcribed in the software programme Transcriber (trans.sourceforge.net).

The coding analysis follows four principles:

- I analysed a maximum of 20 variants for each variable in each speaker. When a speaker has less than five occurrences of a variable, the speaker is left out from further analysis of the variable. As turns out, Tine is omitted from most analyses.
- For some of the variables, e.g. the morphological ones, getting 20 occurrences proved difficult. As result, I analysed the entire interviews for the variables ED, EN, EN, OR and

Deletion of [*w*]. The remaining variables have higher frequencies, and I therefore analysed these from the tenth minute onwards.

- I analysed no more than five occurrences of the same word for each variable to avoid biased results. There is, however, an exception to this principle: If it is not possible to get 20 occurrences of a variable for a speaker, I analysed all occurrences of the variable. This exception especially works for OR which proved impossible to analyse if I did not include all occurrences of the most frequent word, *tror* (*think*, see description below).
- I did not include singing contexts, stylised utterances and uncertain or heavily reduced occurrences in the analyses.

Table 5.1 and Figure 5.2. show the nine speakers` unmarked linguistic performances. The table presents the speakers` variation between dialect, Jutlandic, Modern and Standard Danish variants.

Variable	**Variant**	**Ulrik**	**Anders**	**Alexander**	**Louise**	**Ane**	**Clara**	**Pernille**	**Marie**	**Tine**
	Jutlandic	8	9	9	14	10	3	15	4	-
OR	Standard	8	3	4	4	10	14	5	3	-
Total		16	12	13	18	20	17	20	7	-
Standard percentage		50	25	30	22,2	50	**82**	25	42,8	-
	Jutlandic	2	3	10	6	4	1	-	6	-
SÅDAN	Standard	12	17	5	14	16	19	18	14	-
Total		14	20	15	20	20	20	18	20	-
Standard percentage		85,71	85	**33,33**	70	80	95	100	70	-
	Jutlandic	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
EDE	Standard	-	6	6	6	14	-	6	5	-
Total		-	8	6	6	14	-	6	5	-
Standard percentage		-	**75**	100	100	100	-	100	100	-
	Dialect	4	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-
EN	Jutlandic	3	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-
	Standard	4	-	4	5	19	13	12	5	-
Total		11		5	6	19	15	14	7	-
Standard percentage		**36,36**	-	80	83,3	100	87	85,7	71,42	-
ET:	Jutlandic	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	1	-
LAVET	Standard	-	7	-	5	20	6	12	6	-
Total		-	8	-	5	20	7	14	7	-
Standard percentage		-	87,5	-	100	100	85,7	85,7	85,7	-
	Dialect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ET:	Jutlandic	7	-	5	1	1	-	-	-	-
HUSET	Standard	-	-	1	4	8	-	-	-	-
Total		7	-	6	5	9	-	-	-	-
Standard percentage		**0**	-	**16,7**	80	88,9	-	-	-	-

	Dialect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MEGET	Jutlandic	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Standard	18	8	6	-	20	7	20	5	-
Total		18	9	6	-	20	7	20	5	-
Standard percentage		100	88,9	100	-	100	100	100	100	-
Velarised	Modern	7	8	3	8	10	4	7	10	-
[ð]	Standard	13	12	14	12	10	13	13	10	-
Total		20	20	17	20	20	17	20	20	
Standard percentage		65	60	82,4	60	50	76,5	75	50	-
Fronted	Modern	4	2	1	1	9	3	6	3	7
[s]	Standard	16	18	19	19	11	17	14	17	13
Total		20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Standard percentage		80	90	95	95	55	85	70	85	65

Table 5.1: Proportions of dialect, Jutlandic, Modern and Standard variants and percentages of standard variants for each speaker.

The table points to the girls having higher proportions of Standard and Modern variants than the boys. To examine this gender difference further, I have carried out chi square tests[3]. The data material, however, is relatively thin due to the small amount of speakers and, especially for the variables EDE, EN, MEGET, the low numbers of occurrences (Appendix B). This means that statistical analyses are not possible for these three variables. For the other variables, chi square tests for independence elicit:

- A highly significant gender difference (X2=13,45945, p<<0,01, Appendix B) for ET: HUSET. With a distribution between zero and 16,7%, the boys use significantly less Standard Danish variants, whereas the girls, with a distribution between 80-88,9%, use significantly more. This result, however, is based on variation among two boys and two girls, and the data material amounts to a total of 27 numeric occurrences.
- No statistically significant difference for OR (X2=3,418925, p=0,064453), but still it is close. The distribution of this variable stands out because the girls have fewer standard variants than the boys. This contradicts dominant presumptions about gender-related language use with female speakers using more standard forms (e.g. Schøning & Pedersen 2009). Clara influences the statistical result, because she differs from all the other speakers with 82% Standard forms. Clara´s distribution of the variants therefore makes the result less statistically significant.
- No significant gender difference for Fronted [s] (X2=3,164063, p=0,075276), but the girls have more Modern forms and fewer Standard forms than the boys. Maegaard (2007) studies

[3] Thanks to Torben Juel Jensen for helping me with the statistical material

Fronted [s] among students in an Inner-Copenhagen secondary school and discovers statistically significant gender differences in the distribution of the feature, with young females, ethnic minority girls especially, using it more. As result, Maegaard (2007: 188) characterises it as a typical young female speech feature. The present result adds to the description of the Modern variant as a "girl`s variant", despite its statistically non-significance.

- No statistically significant gender differences for SÅDAN, ET: LAVET, Velarised [ð] (p>>0,05, Appendix B).

Figure 5.2 presents the overall percentages of the variables across the nine speakers.

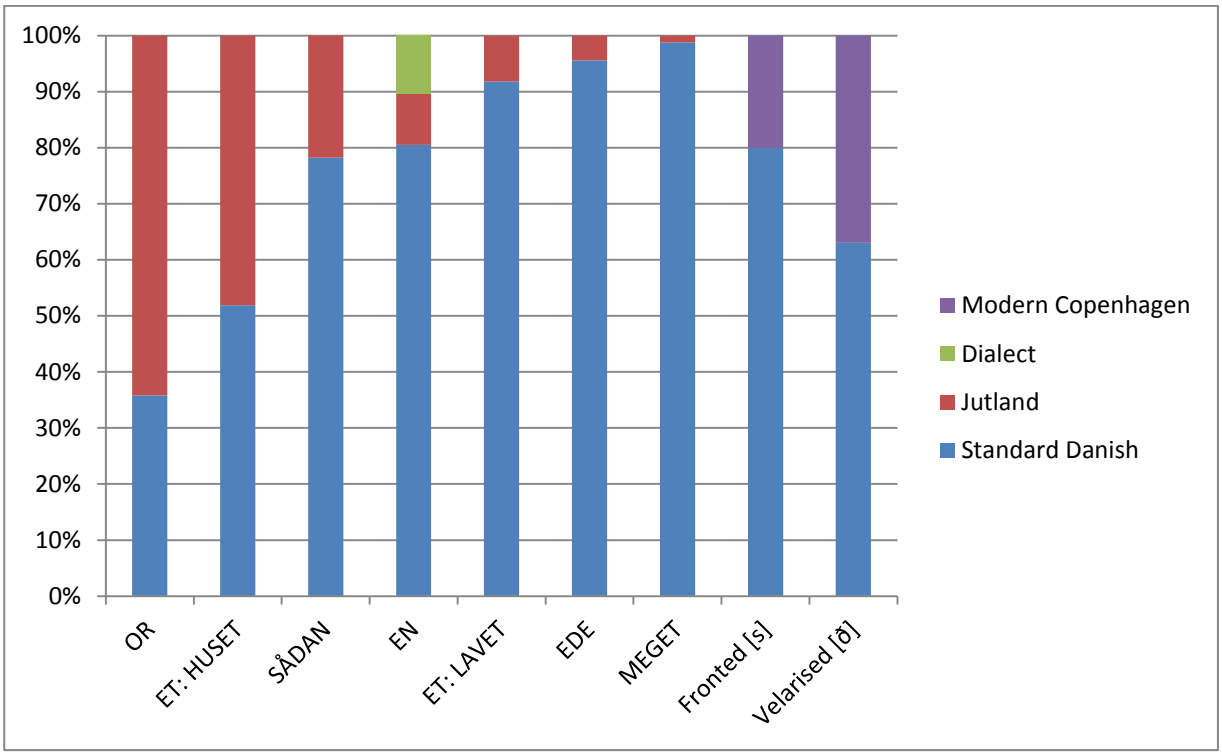

Figure 5.2.: Percentage of variation in nine variables across for all speakers.

The figure shows:

- Standard Danish variants dominate, but solid variation exists for OR in the lemma *tror*, HUSET and Velarised [ð].
- EN, HUSET and MEGET have three possible distributions, but this is only effectuated in EN with 10% dialect variants.
- OR holds a special status in Oksbøl as it does in other parts of Jutland (e.g. Christensen 2012: 169-172) and with a percentage of 63, it is the only variable with a higher proportion of Jutlandic variants than standard variants. Monka (2013: 85-86) characterises it as a

movable feature, because a female and a male informant from Odder moved to the Copenhagen area without appreciable alterations in their distributions of this variable.

5.5 Contemporary West Jutlandic as ideology

The results of the analyses point in two directions: Firstly, it confirms the domination of the Copenhagen-based Standard Danish for eight of the nine variables under scrutiny. Thus, on the basis of these variables, a picture of Contemporary West Jutlandic as closely resembling a Copenhagen speech variety emerges. This picture thereby confirms the officially stated hegemony of the Copenhagenised Standard Danish (e.g. Kristiansen 2015: 101). Importantly, however, is the fact that despite this resemblance, the adolescents are still distinguishably Jutlandic speakers due to their use of a Jutlandic intonation. Moreover, this picture does not comply with how the adolescents themselves characterise their unmarked speech practices: They claim to speak Standard Danish, but this in no way equals Copenhagen speech. Rather, their way of speaking standard differs from routine speech practices in other parts of Denmark, Copenhagen included, and their speech norms seem to function as baseline for evaluating these practices (Agha 2007: 191). Subsequently, the recognition of Standard Danish as a Copenhagen-based register is not met. Secondly, the results confirms the absence of supralocal and traditional features, with OR being the one exception. The adolescents disagree on this point, ranging from the downright rejection of the existence of *vestjysk* over reporting instances of dialect slipping to the consolation of *vestjysk* as a habitual speech practice.

So, when I ask the adolescents to dwell on their unmarked verbal performances, their categorisations do not straightforwardly match quantitative analyses of these practices (Agha 2007: 150). Rather, when directly asked the adolescents not only comment on speech forms, but also on a framework of social practices associated with different ways of speaking. What gets projected, then, is the ideological upholding of social distinctions between different ways of being in the world. Linguistic usage is part of this distinction, that is; linguistic forms are, in Agha`s (2007) words, "indices of distinction" (Agha 2007: 136). Arguably, one does therefore not – ideologically at least – take up speech practices associated with speakers and social practices stereotypically associated with other places and social practices indexing social norms and types of behaviour with which one cannot comply, or which are at odds with local norms. In the following two chapters, we tune in on these ideological and stereotypic perceptions, when we approach the sociolinguistic dichotomy

between classical dialect (chapter 6) and local imitations of Copenhagen speech (chapter 7) from an ethnographic and micro-analytical perspective.

Chapter 6: Dialect as a late-modern phenomenon

There is something old-fashioned about classical dialects. Some indexical reference to how things used to be. Most traditional Danish dialects are extinct or on the verge of extinction (however, see Monka & Hovmark forthc.), because - due to centuries-long stigmatisation and an exceedingly powerful Standard Danish ideology – dialects are no longer passed on to the younger generations (e.g. Schøning & Pedersen 2009). Classical Danish dialects are therefore firmly positioned at the very standard end of the dialect-standard continuum.

Danish dialectology most often treats dialects as yesteryear phenomena. Typically, the use of dialect variants is measured against 1) the standard language and/or 2) classical descriptions of the variants in a continuum of variation and change (e.g. Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992, Jørgensen 1983, Kristensen 1977, 1980, Maegaard 2001, Monka 2013, Monka & Hovmark forthc., Pedersen 1985, 1994, Pedersen & Horneman Hansen 1996, Petersen 2013, Schøning & Pedersen 2009). These studies are preoccupied with the quantitative proportions of linguistic forms and, consequently, ignore the interactional affordances of the forms and their stereotypic, indexical valences. Dialects, then, are not approached as total linguistic facts, but as truncated denotational systems. Such approaches therefore leave the dialects as static, bounded entities that – in an otherwise constantly changing world (e.g. Blommaert 2010, Blommeart & Rampton 2011, Coupland 2010) – remain unchangeable constructs. As result, what tends to be replicated in Danish dialectology, then, is the same descriptive story of substantial dialect levelling and permeatable linguistic standardisation. Consequently, this approach does not elucidate what happens to dialect features at the very standard end of the continuum, and it does not bring us any closer at understanding why some dialect features may still, however insignificantly, be in use. Yet, to measure present-day dialect use against former dialect descriptions is by no means an unfruitful endeavor, because it serves as historical backdrop to demonstrate the continuity and change of the dialect (e.g. Britain 2009: 225), whereas to position dialect use in a dialect-standard continuum (e.g. Kristensen 1977) locates the dialect in a wider societal context. Still, no matter how forceful these arguments may seem, it´s pivotal to bear in mind that such approaches block any attempts to catch possible (re)valourisations and changes within the social functions of dialect features (Silverstein 2003: 227). This, subsequently, hinders conceiving dialects as anything but a yesteryear phenomenon.

This chapter discerns what happens to dialect features in an otherwise Standard-speaking context and what consequences the continuous use of these features among adolescents hold interactionally and ideologically. The data for this chapter comes from more than 52 hours of self-recordings and three hours of group interviews, amounting to 56 hours of data. Table 6.1 presents an overview of the numeric proportions of the adolescents` use of classical *vestjysk* variants in these data alongside the interactional contexts in which the dialect features occur:

Feature	**Stylised**	**Non-stylised**	**Uncertain**	**Total**
OO	8	1		9
ARTICLE	12	4	1	17
IKKE	11			11
V.STØD	4			4
W	3			3
DIA. WORD	8[i]	4[ii]		12
A	5			5
-D	6			6
EE	1			1
Total	58	9	1	68
Total episodes	**29**	**7**		**36**

Table 6.1: Numeric proportions of *vestjysk* variants in 56 hours of audio recordings.
i: ”bare”, ”bare”, ”gammel”, ”lang”, ”møj”, ”rundt”, ”svin”, ”æbler”, (just, old, long, much, around, pig, apples)
ii: ”bestyrelse”, ”møg”, ”sagde”, ”skrive” (board, dung, said, write)

The table illustrates:

- A patterned use of dialect material, suggesting that the adolescents do not pick and choose among a whole range of dialect variants. Rather, they seem to employ a relatively restricted and easily recognisable artillery of dialect resources that cluster in eight sociolinguistic variables alongside a few remaining words, which I group in the somewhat muddy category “dialect words”.
- Out of 68 instances of *vestjysk*, the vast majority figures as stylisations (also Jaspers 2011, Snell 2010). This means that when the adolescents employ a classical dialect feature, they overwhelmingly employ stylised dialect features to project strategically inauthenticity – much in line with Anders` description in extract 5.4 (see section 6.1 for descriptions of other features, e.g. exaggerated articulation, that point out the stylised function). In order to distinguish this marked use from unmarked usage, I introduce the register label Stylised *vestjysk*. Table 6.1 displays a systematic employment of this register, which is described in

section 6.1. The Stylised *vestjysk* features, however, tend to cluster together, so that several features co-occur (i.e. extracts 6.3, 6.5, 6.6). This leaves a data set of 29 episodes of Stylised *vestjysk*, whereas the final seven are instances of dialect slipping (see section 5.2 above).

- Moreover, the total of 68 classical *vestjysk* dialect occurrences equals 1,2 dialect features per hour, spread over more than eight different dialect variables. A traditional variationist approach would have difficulties capturing this variation.

Consequently, Table 6.1 illustrates the need to open up for new perspectives on and approaches to present-day dialect use, which not only focus on linguistic forms, but which also consider the interactional context of these forms and their social meaning ascriptions. In order to encircle contemporary dialect use among youth, this chapter takes an ethnographic and micro-analytical approach in the exploration of the interactional affordances and the stereotypical indexical values of dialect use in the 29 stylised episodes. In later sections of this chapter, I illustrate that by approaching dialect features as contemporary phenomena projecting highly salient and important complications on how to be in the world – and not just as historical leftovers – we may still learn a thing or two, no matter their insignificant quantitative numbers. Chapter 8 elaborates on this and demonstrates how adolescents` dialect employments are informative of social inequality and macro-structural power relations in present-day Denmark.

As an entry point, I begin section 6.1 by describing the linguistic and semiotic features that constitute the Stylised *vestjysk* register among the adolescents. In order to position this practice in a wider context and to distinguish how it differs from older generations` dialect usage, section 6.2 provides a small apparent-time study, which scrutinises the use of the eight variables in three generations in one family. The baseline for this study are the rather obvious assumptions that the adolescents only employ dialect material that a) still holds some value in the local sociolinguistic economy, and that b) is relatively easy to use, so that producing it does not require substantial and heavily detailed knowledge of *vestjysk*. Appendix C provides lists of the coding analyses and suggests that the dialect variants of the eight variables are relatively word restricted and lexicalised (also Monka & Hovmark forthc.). The results of the apparent-time study along with Table 6.1 above and the adolescents` metacomments on dialect use reveal that the dialect practices discernable in the three generations point to the existence of two distinct dialect register formations with diverging

social functions (Agha 2007: 81): A non-stylised register among elder speakers and a stylised register among youth. To understand the adolescents` near-extinct dialect use I propose that we work with dialect features as total linguistic facts (e.g. Karrebæk 2016, Madsen 2013, Snell 2010). Section 3.4 presents such an approach by looking at eight episodes of Stylised *vestjysk*. What we see here is how the classical dialect features are embedded with indexical meaning of a relatively narrow range or key (e.g. Bennet 2012, Hill 2005, Johnstone forthc.).

6.1 Stylised *vestjysk* as performable signs

As laid out in Table 6.1, the adolescents employ a relatively restricted set of sociolinguistic variables that index Stylised *vestjysk*. These amount to six classical, local dialect variables and two dialect variables which did not originally belong to the local dialect, but nonetheless connote dialect speech.

WEST JUTLANDIC *STØD*: As a consequence of consistent apocope in West Danish dialects, a large number of historically one- and two syllabic words has merged. The primary function of the West Jutlandic *stød* ("West Jutlandic glottal stop") is said to distinguish between these words (Køster et al. 1982: 7). A thoroughly exhaustive definition of the possible distributions for this variable has proved difficult (see Schøning 2010 for discussion, also Ejskjær 1954, Ringgaard 1960), but it prototypically occurs in stressed syllables in originally two-syllabic words with short vowels or voiced consonants in combinations with /p,t,k/, e.g "hoppe" ("to jump").

NEGATION: The Standard Danish negation *ikke* [egə] corresponds to dialect *æt* [æd] or [æʔ]. This variable originally was an example of the West Jutlandic *stød*, but as *ikke* has repeatedly proved more resistant to change than other words with possible West Jutlandic *stød* realisations, the tradition is to treat it as an independent variable (Kristensen 1977, 1980, Schøning & Pedersen 2009, Schøning 2010, Monka 2013).

PERS.PRON: Standard Danish 1.pers.pers.pron. *jeg* parallels *a* in the dialect.

ARTICLE: The standard definite articles *–en, -et, -ene, -erne* parallel the preposed dialect article *æ*, e.g. *huset* versus *æ hus* ("the house").

LONG O: The realisation of Standard Danish [oː] corresponds to the dialectal 1) long diphthongs [uə] in medial position, e.g. "skole" ("school"), 2) [ɒu] in final position, e.g. "bo" ("live") or 3) word-initial short diphthongs [wo], e.g. "onsdag" ("Wednesday"]. See Schøning (2010) for further discussion.

LONG E: The realisation of Standard Danish [eː] corresponds to the dialectal 1) long diphthong [iə] in "ben" ("leg"), 2) short diphthong [jɛ] in "en" ("one") and compounds such as "stendynge" ("heap of stones") and 3) [iː] in "se" ("look"). See Schøning (2010) for further discussion.

-D: Variation between Standard Danish [ð] and dialect [ɹ, ɹ̰, 0] in words with *–d* in stressed syllables. The dialect forms are found in large parts of Jutland (e.g. Monka 2013), but were not originally part of the traditional, local dialect, which retained the pronunciation of *-d* – in line with a Standard Danish pronunciation (e.g. Feilberg (1886-1914), Jysk Ordbog maps 4.0 and 4.1). Still, the data demonstrates that [ɹ, ɹ̰, 0] at some point have been incorporated into local, Oksbølian dialect practices, and it illustrates how these variants connote dialect practices associated with the local area and – presumably – also with a wider geographical part of Jutland (see extract 3.3). As such, these forms must be considered younger, supralocal dialect forms. The data thereby points to a horizontal convergence (e.g. Auer et al. 2005: 11) between different Jutland dialects with the loss of strictly local forms in favour of supralocal forms.

The dialect variants resemble old Danish – th and –t forms. Still, in line with Jul Nielsen & Nyberg (1988: 42) and Monka (2013: 81), I treat [ɹ, ɹ̰, 0] as manifestations of the same variant. In the following analyses, I leave out words, which may not retain [ð] in Standard Danish, e.g. "god", "ved", "med" ("good", "know", "with").

HV-: Variation between Standard Danish [v] and two dialect variants [hw] and [w] in *hv-* words, such as "hvad", "hvem", "hvor" ("what", "who", "where"). The traditional dialect in the area would retain the [hw-] pronunciation, but the data does not contain any examples of this use. In this sense, the dialect forms cover variation between an older and a younger dialect variant, with the latter being a modernised form.

Concurrently with these eight variants, the adolescents often employ additional semiotic features that contribute to the production of a Stylised *vestjysk* voice. These include exaggerated articulations of dialect features, alterations in voice qualities, e.g. the use of an exaggerated coarse or deep voice (e.g. in Anders descrption of Jutlandic speech in extract 5.1), and in small intonational changes, so that what normally appears as a unmarked Jutlandic intonation is modified to a broad Jutlandic-coloured intonation. The distinction between a unmarked and a marked, broad intonation is not clear-cut, nor has it been possible to demonstrate the audibly register differences in spectrograms (as we see for Stylised *københavnsk* and Contemporary West Jutlandic in chapter 7). Rather, what seems to be at stake is the activity of "turning some [habitual] features *up* and *others* down" (Rampton 2015: 37), i.e. exaggerating a unmarked West Jutlandic intonation, while at the same time changing unmarked Standard Danish morphological, phonetic or lexical items for their dialect counterparts. Moreover, stylised dialect often co-occur with laughter. It is sometimes included when a participant performs an imagined conversation between different voices (e.g. Rose´s performed conversation between a teacher and a student voice in extract 6.4), or when the adolescents flag high degrees of inauthenticity, e.g. in contexts in which they play with tabooes (e.g. Mikkel in extract 6.8).

The next section traces the use of the eight variables across different age groups by looking at the dialect-standard variation in three generations.

6.2 Intergenerational dialect variation: Dialect levelling within the family

The following briefly portrays dialect employment of the eight variables during a Christmas dinner conversation in three generations in Ane´s family. The three generations consist of

1) Ane´s grandparents on her maternal side
2) Her parents (mother born 1972) and her mother`s younger sister
3) Ane (born 1997) and her two younger siblings.

The family has long roots in the local farming culture, and Ane`s grandparents on both sides are farmers, as is her father. Apart from the grandfather who comes from another part of West Jutland (where the same dialect variants are used, see Schøning & Pedersen 2009), all family members have been brought up in the local, rural area. The data contains other audio recordings of similar dinner

conversations with three generations in other Oksbølian families. These data resemble what gets portrayed in Table 6.2 in terms of the distribution of inter- and intragenerational dialect variants.

The coding procedure follows the procedure laid out in chapter 5. There are, however, minor revisions:

- I do not restrict the analyses to include a maximum of five occurrences for each word, but include all examples to which a variable applies.
- When in doubt of the realisation of a word, I consulted the encyclopaedias Feilberg (1886-1914), Bennike & Kristensen (1898-1912) and Jysk Ordbog (jyskordbog.dk).

Speaker	*STØD*		NEG.		PERS.		ART.		DIPH. O		DIPH. E		-D		HV-	
	D	**S**	**D**	**S**	**D**	**S**	**D**	**S**	**D**	**S**	**D**	**S**	**D**	**S**	**D**	**S**
Grandfather	2	8	17		11		12		1	2	5	1	5	2	8	8
Grandmother	3	6	7		2	3	6	2	1	4	6	4	4	3	2	2
Father	2		4		4		2	2		4	3	2		3		1
Mother		14		10		13	4	9		3		5		7		1
Aunt		11		17		20		15		15		13		11		14
Ane		12		20		20		20		20		11	2	13		19
Brother		9		10		16		15		7		13	1	10		15
Sister		4		9		10		8		7		4		1		13

Table 6.2: Proportions of dialect (D) and standard (S) variants.

Table 6.2 pictures the intergenerational numeric decline of dialect variants. The data is limited in terms of number of speakers and numeric occurrences, but still it confirms characteristics reported elsewhere (e.g. Kristensen 1977, 1980, Schøning & Pedersen 2009, Monka 2013):

- As both grandfather and father have more dialect variants than the women in their generations, the use of dialect reflects gender differences (e.g. Kristensen 1977, 1980, Pedersen 1994).
- The parents and grandparents use it more than Ane and her siblings, and as result, the major change occurs between second (parent) and third (children) generation (also Schøning & Pedersen 2009). Dialect use therefore points to age-related differences (Kristensen 1977, Schøning & Pedersen 2009). However, the parent generation shows substantial variation, as Ane`s father`s use of dialect variants to some extent is similar to her grandmother`s, whereas Ane´s aunt is much more similar to Ane and her siblings.

The results thereby document different phases in dialect levelling: An elder generation of levelled dialect speakers, a younger generation of both levelled dialect and Standard Danish speakers, and, finally, a young generation of exclusively standard speakers. This age-related difference is reflected on in the interview data. Here, *vestjysk* gets associated with elder speakers, the grandparent generation in particular:

Extract 6.1: Group interview with Alexander, Anders Ulrik (38:01-38:25)

01	Ulrik	min mor kan snakke vestjysk	my mum she can speak
02		når hun snakker med sin mor	vestjysk when she speaks
03		(.) hun kan snakke dansk	with her mum (.) she can
04		med mig så kan hun snakke	speak Danish with me then
05		vestjysk	she can speak vestjysk
06		[med sin	[with her
07	Anders	[((ler)) dansk og=	[((laughs))Danish and=
08	Alexander	[((ler)) dansk=	[((laughs))Danish=
09	Anders	=vestjysk	=vestjysk
10	Alexander	={og så} vestjysk	={and then} vestjysk
11	Signe	ja	yes
12	Alexander	de:t er sådan når de	it`s: like when they speak
13		snakker i telefon for	on the phone for instance
14		eksempel så kan man godt	then you can hear you know
15		høre sådan li:ge (1.8) i	like (1.8) in the
16		samtalen og sådan lidt	conversation and like a
17		efter der er det sådan	little while after then it
18		meget sådan jysk-agtigt	is like very Jutlandic-like
19	Signe	ja	yes
20	Alexander	de snakker [sådan	they speak [like that
21	Ulrik	[min bedstemor	[my grandmother
22		hun kan sådan nogenlunde	she can speak fairly Danish
23		snakke dansk til mig (1.1)	with me (1.1) well you know
24		altså sådan nogenlunde	fairly well
25		altså sådan at jeg bedre	so that I better understand
26		forstår det for nogle gange	it because sometimes then
27		så siger hun et eller andet	she says something

28	Alexander	((ler)) [når man bare står=	((laughs)) [when you just=
29	Ulrik	[nåh det er det=	[uh so that´s=
30	Alexander	=↓UH↑ ((signalerer	=↓UH↑((signals
31		uforståelighed))	incomprehension))
32	Ulrik	=det betyder	=what it means
33	Signe	altså sådan lidt sjove ord	like funny words
34	Ulrik	ja	yes
35	Alexander	ja	yes

Alexander and Ulrik share similar experiences with dialect use in their families. Their mothers and grandmothers code switch between interlocutors – or, as is the case with Ulrik´s grandmother, strives to ("she can speak fairly Danish with me", lines 22-23) – and there are substantial differences in how their mothers speak *vestjysk* in phone conversations with (elder) dialect speaking family members and "Danish" with the boys. In this way, the boys provide an important explanation to the changing dialect practices between generation 2 and 3 presented in Table 6.2, namely that dialect is not passed on to the young(er) generation(s). This inevitably means, as the boys explain in the extract, that *vestjysk* is at times incomprehensible to youngsters. In such instances, it is fortunate if the elder generations are able to translate the problematic linguistic elements. So, what does all of this tell us about *vestjysk* in Oksbøl?

6.3 The coexistence of two distinct registers

When considering Tables 6.1 and 6.2 and the adolescents` portrayals of local dialect use in extract 6.1 and chapter 5, two issues come into focus: 1) That local dialect employment in fact points to two distinct and coexisting register formations, and – related to this point – 2) that what we investigate is not youngsters` employment of a local register *per se*, but the scattered remains of linguistic resources that imitate and/or connote ideological perceptions of a register with past haydays (see below).

Firstly, the family study displays a linguistic distinction between elder and younger speakers, which the boys in extract 6.1 reflexively comment on. The following extract demonstrates how Ane´s parents and grandparents typically use dialect resources in the Christmas dinner conversation. It is included here as a contrast point to the episodes in section 6.4 below and to underline the stark difference in intergenerational dialect use.

Extract 6.2: Brought up with manners (18:43-19:10)
Participants: Kaj (grandfather), Agnes (Grandmother), Ditte (mother), Karsten (father)

01	Kaj	nå bor hun her i	well does she live here i
02		Oksbøl og	Oksbøl too
03	Agnes	nej i Kvong ((landsby))	no in Kvong ((village))
04	Kaj	[Kvong	[Kvong
05	Ditte	[hun bo i Kvong	[she lives in Kvong
06	Agnes	hun er lærer i- hun er=	she`s a teacher in- she`s=
07	Kaj	nå jamen det kunne a høre	well yes that I understood
08		>nå men a troede vidste	>well but I thought did not
09		æt om hun boede her<	know if she lived here< (1.0)
10		(1.0) nå nå	well well
		((lines omitted))	((lines omitted))
11	Karsten	jamen hun har bare sådan	well she really knows how to
12		tjek på de børn der(.) og	handle those kids (.) and they
13		de få- (1.0) de bliver bare	ge-(1.0) they are being
14		sådan opdragen med pli xxx	brought up with manners xxx
15	Agnes	ja det er en god [ting	yes that´s a good [thing
16	Karsten	[de står	[they stand
17		ude ved æ dør og siger	out by the door and say
18		farvel og	goodby and

The example portrays the unmarked and non-stylised dialect use among elder speakers. Table 6.2 displays how the use of dialectal "a" ("I"), the diphthongisation of [o:] ("troede", "boede", "god" ("thought", "lived", "good"), the dialectal negation "æt"and the preposed article are all part of Kaj, Agnes and Karsten`s unmarked repertoire. Contrary to the adolescents` use of these features in section 6.4 below, there is no indications in this extract that Agnes, Kaj and Karsten put on voices or any keys that they change footings or alternate the interactional frame. For instance, there is no exaggerated articulation, laughter, no change of conversational topic or of voice qualities. Rather, what is at stake is the unfolding of everyday unmarked social practice. As I found no evidence for using dialect in any other way, e.g. as stylisations, among levelled dialect speakers in the parent and grandparent generations, dialect as a non-stylised and unmarked speech style seems dominant among these speakers. This is in sheer contrast with the adolescents` overwhelming use of *vestjysk*

as a marked, stylised resource in Table 6.1, and it therefore depicts the revalorisation of classical dialect features into a new, stylised social function.

In chapter 5 and in extract 6.1, we saw how local *vestjysk* dialect resources still exist as socio-ideological constructs among the adolescents. It is still a viable resource associated with place (extract 5.3), elder speakers and incomprehension (extracts 6.1). It is not a resource associated with youth. Emilie`s downright rejection of the use of dialect in extract 5.2 is highly illustrative of this point. In extract 5.4, Alexander, Anders and Ulrik reported on 1) dialect employment as a fun, strategically inauthentic resource, and on 2) the more or less (and rare) accidental activity of dialect slipping. Both denote a dialect use firmly positioned at the very standard-end of the dialect-standard continuum. Both the adolescents` narratives and tables 6.1 and 6.2 therefore demonstrate how the reanalysis of *vestjysk* transforms it from a denotational, unmarked and non-stylised indicator of a population of elder speakers – a 1st order indexical – to a marked, stylised n+1st order indexical embedded with socio-cultural ideological distinctions and stereotypes (Agha 2007: 158). So what we see laid out in these data is the existence of two distinct register formations associated with the local, classical dialect: The unmarked, non-stylised *vestjysk* register and the marked, stylised register, which I, for acts of clarity, label Stylised *vestjysk*. Thus, the contextual appropriateness of the two register formations thereby differs, because they have substantially different "*pragmatic effects* that are enacted through their performance" (Agha 2007: 144, original italics). When the young speakers therefore rearrange the social values of the classical dialect forms, they fashion new norms of appropriate usage. Thereby, the two dialect registers are "alternative models of normativity" (Agha 2007: 158) that exist side by side in the same speech community, but with very different social scopes and effects. Thus, as Agha (2007) has it, they both form "a sociohistorical snapshot of a phase of enregisterment for particular users" (Agha 2007: 170, also Agha 2005: 45).

Secondly, viewing *vestjysk* as two distinct register formations that operate at different indexical orders has consequences for how we consider the eight variables under study. Their proportional decline has been the focus in previous studies of dialect leveling in West Jutland (Kristensen 1977, 1980, Schøning & Pedersen 2009, Schøning 2010, Monka 2013). When Kristensen (1977) carried out his two sociolinguistic studies in Vinderup, he found that the local, traditional dialect variants of 15 variables varied significantly in degrees of resistance to change (see also section 2.1). Some had lost ground to their standard counterparts, whereas others still dominated in the local speech

community. Of the 15 variables, seven proved particularly resistant to change, including the West Jutlandic *stød*, the negation, 1.pers.pers. pronoun, the preposed article and diphthongisations of [oː] and [eː]. These came to form the basis of his second study (1980) of code switching among adolescents. Here, he further included four additional variables, including -D, if speakers had a standard-near pronunciation (Kristensen 1980: 79). As the present study repeats the study of the eight variables, it is in some ways a continuation of Kristensen`s work, despite focusing on different social circumstances in a different West Jutlandic setting more than 30 years later. It therefore adds to our knowledge about these eight variables in particular, and it exemplifies what happens to dialect features at the standard end of the variation continuum more generally: They become marked, stylised speech forms in Oksbøl (also Schøning 2010 for a similar development among Vinderup youth). However, when Kristensen (1980) described the most resistant dialect features, he studied a fragmented speech variety among youth, some of whom qualified as levelled dialect speakers (also Schøning & Pedersen 2009, Monka 2013). This fragmentation is even more widespread and dominant in the present data, partly because not one of the Oksbøl adolescents could meaningfully qualify as a levelled dialect speaker, and partly because their employment of the dialect resources have become word restricted and lexicalised (see Appendix C). Stylised *vestjysk* is therefore the highly fragmented imitation of a historical cultural model. As result, the question is no longer a matter of what happens to a near-extinct dialect *per se*, but what happens to the few remaining dialect features.

This is the focus in the rest of this chapter which tunes in on the interactional affordances and the indexical meaning potentials in eight episodes of Stylised *vestjysk*. The episodes are chosen among the 29 dialect episodes (see Appendix D) and display how Stylised *vestjysk* is used in connection with four main activities 1) negotiations of academic skills, 2) pretend discussions, 3) transgressions of physical integrity and 4) in deconstructions of self-claimed authority.

6.4 Situated employments of Stylised *vestjysk*

6.4.1 Dialect in academic shortcomings

In the first two episodes, we see how stylised dialect features are included in projections of academic ignorance. In the first, Anders plays the board game Cranium with his family. The family members are divided into two teams, and each team takes turns in reading aloud tasks for the other team who then has to provide an answer before an hourglass runs out. Anders has teamed up with

his mother, and as the extract opens, his father reads the instructions for their next task: They will be given a word and will then have to choose the correct definition of the word among four options:

Extract 6.3: What (25:43-26:07)

Participants: Anders (recording), Allan (brother), Maja (sister-in-law), Lisbeth (mother), Svend (father)

01	Svend	for at løse den (1.0)	to answer the (1.0)
02		<vokal(.)[bu la ri:> (1.6)	<vocal (.) [bu la ri:> (1.6)
03	All	[((ler))	[((laugh))
04	Svend	opgave↓ ((oplæsning))	task↓ ((reads aloud))
05	Allan	vo[kalbul ((ler))	vo[calbul ((laughs))
06	Anders	[((ler))	[((laughs))
07	Svend	[skal I vælge den	[you must choose the
08		rigtige definition af	correct definition of the
09		ordet herunder (0.6) jeg	word below (0.6) I read the
10		læser ordet og definerer	word and define out loud
11		højt ((oplæsning))	((reads aloud))
(0.6)			
12	Anders	nej [det var da den der	no [it was that one right
13	Svend	[og desinutionerne	[and the desinutions
14		højt giver jer kortet og	out loud give you the card
15		vender timeglasset	and turns the hourglass
16		((oplæsning))	((reads aloud))
17	Maja	hov	oops
(0.9)			
18	Svend	ordet det er (3.0)	the word is (3.0)
19		((vender hørbart kortet))	((audibly turns the card))
20		glabella:	glabella:
(1.5)			
21	Lisbeth	gla (.) >bella<	gla (.) >bella<
22	Svend	G L A ((staver ordet))=	G L A ((spells the word))=
23	Anders	=**hvad** [°**fan**° (([ɑ]))	=**what** [°**the hell**°
24	Svend	[bella	[bella
25	Anders	så skal vi sige hvad det	then we must say what it

26		er	is
27	Svend	ja	yes

To the others` shared amusement (lines 3, 5, 6), Svend struggles with reading the instructions. He repeatedly projects unfamiliarity with several linguistic elements in the instructions, and thus he signals disaffiliation with and inaccessibility to the task. This comes about through 1) slower speech pace when reading an unfamiliar word (line 2), 2) mispronunciations of "vokabularisk" ("vocabularic") and "definitionerne" ("definitions"), pronounced "vokalbulari:" and "desinutionerne", and 3) a reading mistake in lines 10-11, followed by a self-correction in lines 13-14. The word up for scrutiny is "glabella:", the Latin expression for the bone between the eyebrows and the nose. When Lisbeth repeats the word (line 21), her way of doing so may on the one hand be a way of projecting unfamiliarity with the word. On the other, however, it may be a typical gaming move when having been presented a difficult task. As way of response, the player initially "tastes" the difficult element in order to search his/her mind for recognition before s/he replies. The latter interpretation seems more likely, as Lisbeth moments later remembers the word and picks the correct definition. In the immediate context, however, Svend treats it as the projection of unfamiliarity with the word and starts spelling it out (lines 22, 24). Thus, he frames not just the instructional context but also the vocabularic element up for graps as difficult. This point gets particularly outspoken in Anders` outburst "**hvad °fan°**" ("**what °the hell°**", line 23) in which he projects a marked underlining of his puzzlement with the word. He does so by including the dialectal [w] in initial position in "**hvad**" ("what") and exaggerates the opening of the unrounded vowel in °fan° ("hell"). So, in response to a task framed as difficult, Anders seems to stress ignorance by employing Stylised *vestjysk*. However, this strategically inauthentic position-making suggests that while Anders uses dialect resources to project ignorance, he at the same time characterises the word as exceptionally specialised. What comes to the fore, then, is not so much Anders` inability to familiarise with the word, but that the word is so special that knowledge of it would be odd or exceptional.

In the second episode, Katrine and Rose use dialect resources in a similar manner when they give up trying to answer a math problem as part of a group assignment. They have been reading a short text describing the problem in question: A man sets out to buy tiles, and the job is now to find out how many square meters he will have to buy and at what cost. However, the only thing the girls are

able to deduce from the text is that this man pays for the goods. The episode is part of a longer sequence in which the girls – with growing frustration – have waited for their teacher´s help. When the teacher fails to show up, they turn to some of their classmates for assistance. As this does not help them proceed, the two girls now skip the assignment with the following comments:

Extract 6.4: I don´t know shit (4:38-4:50)

Participants: Katrine, Rose

01	Rose	hm (0.6) hvad ˆve:ˇd I	hm (.6) what ˆdoˇ you ˆkno: wˇ
02		(1.7) ja hvad vi ˆve:ˇd er	(1.7) yes what we do ˆkno:wˇ
03		at der er (0.6) hvad	is that there is (0.6) what
04		fanden **hedder** det	the hell is it **called**
05		((enklise)) ((bang))	((enclitic)) ((bang))
06	Katrine	**det var ikke møj da**	**well that wasn´t much**
(2.2)			
07	Rose	**a ved æt møj** (2.0) **a ved æt**	**I don´t know much** (2.0) **I don´t**
08		(([ʔ)) **en skid** ((dyd stemme))	**know shit** ((deep voice))
(2.9)			
09	Katrine	vi veˇd at han han betaler↓	we knoˇw that he he pays
10	Rose	hm ((kraftig udånding))	hm ((forcefully exhales))

Throughout the episode, Rose and Katrine produce metapragmatic commentaries on their giving up on the problem within a ridiculing frame. Firstly, this frame gets instigated with the continuous playing with different voices in conversation, and, secondly, with the repeated projection of inauthenticity brought about by the use of non-routine linguistic features. Rose sets off by impersonating a voice that enquires into what the girls know: "what ˆdoˇ you ˆkno: wˇ" (line 1). This voice resembles how a teacher would reply to students` need for help by trying to encircle their problems instead of straightforwardly providing them the solution. This voice thereby comes to represent a teacher`s voice, possibly the absent teacher – a point which gains further support when the girls summerise what they know in subsequent turns. In lines 2 through 5, Rose produces a voice which, in contrast to the voice in line 1, seems to represent the girls, or a student voice: Through an incomplete reply: "ja hvad vi ˆve:ˇd er at der er (0.6)" ("yes what we do ˆkno:wˇ is that there is (0.6)", lines 2-3) and the inability to point to their problems: "hvad fanden hedder det" ("what the hell is it **called**", lines 3-5), her reply emphasises their lack of understanding. In both

the parodied teacher`s voice and in the utterances highlighting the girls` problems understanding the task, Rose employs a number of linguistic features associated with Jutlandic speech which differ from her habitual speech. Thereby they appear marked: 1) She employs an exaggerated Jutlandic intonation, which is reproduced in all subsequent utterances throughout the exchange, 2) she exaggerates the intonation contour and lengthens [e:] in "ve:d " (lines 1, 2), 3) she omits [ð] in "ve:d" and "hedder" ("know", "called", lines 1, 2, 4 – also repeated in lines 7, 9), and, finally, 4) she includes the non-standard enclitic in "hedder den" (lines 4-5). What Rose does then, is constructing two ridiculed footings: a ridiculed (absent) teacher voice and a self-ridiculing voice. Katrine`s response that "**det var ikke møj da**" ("**well that wasn´t much**", line 6) functions as an understatement of Rose`s description of what they know. This is indicated through the way she frames the utterance, her inclusion of "da" ("well") in interjectional position and the employment of the exaggerated dialect voice, expressed through a Jutlandic intonation and "møj" ("much"). These elements key the utterance as an insincere representation of the girls` academic skills and as a continuation of the self-ridicule. Rose now upkeys the self-ridicule with a deep voice represented by a dialect speaking "a" ("I"):"**a ved æʔt møj** (2.0) **a ved æt en skid**" ("**I don´t know much** (2.0) **I don´t know shit**", lines 7-8). Again, she repeats the omission of [ð] and "møj", but further includes "æt" (literaly "not", but in this context similar to "don´t"). Moreover, she intensifies her stance with going from not knowing "much" to not knowing "shit". When Katrine reacts in line 9, it is unclear if she continues the self-ridicule – with the marked dialect features – by ironically referring to the only thing they know: That "he pays", or if she in fact partly contests and alters the interaction to a more serious frame by singling out that, in fact, they are not completely blank, but do know this one particular thing.

The extract displays how the girls build up parodic representations of different speaker voices, and how stylised linguistic features, ascribable to a supralocal Jutland speech style (lines 1-5) and Stylised *vestjysk*, are key elements in the continuous ridicule of their situation. The girls have waited long for the teacher`s help, and when this help is withheld, the girls eventually act out a typical teacher-student interaction. However, the interaction is kept in a non-serious frame of continuous ridicule of the absent teacher voice, brought about by the inclusion of several dialect features associated with large parts of Jutland. Moreover, when the teacher voice engages in interaction with the girls, it is not particularly helpful. Another voice seems to represent the girls themselves and their lack of understanding. Again, this voice comes across as strategically

inauthentic, because it is first presented with the similar linguistic features as the teacher voice, and when the lack of understanding becomes particularly outspoken, Rose upkeys the inauthenticity and the self-ridicule by employing Stylised *vestjysk*. In this context, then, the iteration of the ridiculing footings becomes means to flag distance to and dismissal of the math activity.

In extracts 6.3 and 6.4, the adolescents produce Stylised *vestjysk* when they exhibit ignorance of highly specialised knowledge (extract 6.3) and academic incompetence (extract 6.4) to dismiss a word or a school activity. In extract 6.3, Anders does so to stress the exceptionality and oddity of a word, whereas, in extract 6.4, Rose and Katrine leave a school activity by ridiculing the context in which it occurs. In the next episode, Mikkel similarly rejects a prior activity, when he parodies a minor dispute between Marie and Pernille.

6.4.2 Dialect in pretend discussions

Marie, Mikkel and Pernille are supposed to do a piece of group work on a book during Danish lesson. None of them have read the book, so Marie plays a game on her cell phone instead. In this game, the player has to prevent spiders from eating sweets by eliminating them. Neither of the other two knows the game, and the episode is part of a longer sequence in which they discuss the design of the game while watching Marie play.

Extract 6.5: Drops (8:56-9:27)
Participants: Marie, Mikkel, Pernille

01	Mikkel	er det edderk- k- kopper	are those s- s- spiders
02		der gerne vil spise det	which would like to eat
03		[slik der	[those sweets
04	Marie	[>ja<	[>yes<
05	Pernille	er det sl↑ik	are those ↑sweets
06	Marie	ja det er slik °og ja°	yes it`s sweets °and yes°
07		(0.8) skal det i hvert fald	(0.8) that`s what it`s
08		ligne	supposed to look like
(1.5)			
09	Pernille	skal det ikke ligne de der	isn´t it supposed to look
10		bol↑sjer	like those ↑drops
(1.6)		((skramlen med optager))	((rattle with recorder))

11	Marie	det er jo også slik	well that´s sweets too
(1.4)			
12	Pernille	of k=	*Of* k=
13	Marie	=lad nu være med at sige	=now don´t say drops
14		bolsjer ((ler))	((laughs))
(1.4)			
15	Pernille	det vil jeg sige de:t	I would say that`s:
16		bolsjer	drops
(7.4)		((skramlen med optager))	((rattle with recorder))
17	Mikkel	**bolsjer det er i hvert fald**	**drops that´s**
18		**æt** (([ʔ])) **slik**	**definitely not sweets**
19		((dyb stemme))	((deep voice))

The extract illustrates how Mikkel and Pernille have difficulties identifying key features in the game. As the extract opens, Mikkel seeks confirmation of his identification of "edderk- k- kopper" ("s- s- spiders", lines 1-3). Pernille, on the other hand, has a hard time recognising what Mikkel and Marie identify as "slik" ("sweets, lines 3, 6-8). When she asks "er det sl↑ik" ("are those ↑sweets", line 5) she builds up a contesting frame by questioning their description and introduces the – for her – more accurate description "bol↑sjer" ("↑drops", line 10). Marie immediately rejects this distinction as irrelevant: "det er jo også slik" ("well that`s sweets too", line 11) and laughingly reprimands Pernille´s use of the word "bolsjer" as somehow inappropriate: "lad nu være med at sige bolsjer" ("now don´t say drops", lines 13-14). Having been thus cut down, this could have finalised the disagreement, but Pernille doesn´t let go and maintains her contesting claim in lines 15-16. This contribution is left hanging, and only after a significantly long (7.4) absence of a response, does Mikkel fill the gap with "**bolsjer det er i hvert fald æʔt slik**" ("**drops that´s definitely not sweets**", lines 17-18). In a deep voice, Mikkel dismisses the girls` disagreement by projecting a highly argumentative voice with which he successfully closes the discussion. His utterance is a partial repetition of the girls` contrasting argumentative stances. The repetition thus singles out their opposing footings as being in focus in his contribution. This allows him to "provide a particular affective reaction" (Goodwin 1990: 146) to the dispute and to introduce a new framework for interpreting the dispute with which he both comments on the contrastive arguments and presents his own stance (Goodwin 1990: 149). On the one hand, he seemingly aligns with Pernille`s distinction between drops and sweets. His emphatic "i hvert fald æt" ("definitely not") negates Marie`s

viewpoint that "drops are sweets". On the other, however, he contextualises the utterance as inauthentic through an exaggerated Jutlandic intonation and the use of the dialectal "æt". As result, his contribution comes across as an ironic and ridiculing dismissal of the girls` standpoints and as the projection of the drops-sweets distinction as fussy. It is, however, rather ambiguous, because it is unclear if he refers to the girls` discussion in general, or if he in fact sides with one of their viewpoints. Either way, the jocular framing through the marked linguistic features seems to project an evaluative footing of what went before as silly and irrelevant.

In the next episode, Stylised *vestjysk* is similarly used to evaluate an activity. It is from the recording analysed in section 6.2 with Ane and her family having Christmas Dinner (also extract 4.1). At this point, they have just finished the main course, and Ane, her mother and younger brother clear the table, while the others remain seated. Ditte is doing the dishes by the kitchen sink some paces away, while Ane clears the used napkins off the table. As she does this, her grandfather corrects her:

Extract 6.6: The tablecloth (b) ((7:22-7:43))
Participants: Ane (recording), Mathias (brother), Asta (sister), Ditte (mother), Ulla (aunt), Kaj (grandfather), Agnes (grandmother)

01	Kaj	du skal lade være med det	you shouldn´t do
02		der	that
03	Ane	ja	yes
(1.1)			
04	Kaj	hvor skal du så tørre æ	then where are you going to
05		fingre [i	wipe the [fingers
		((lines omittet))	((lines omitted))
08	Ane	[ikke en skid	[damn all
(0.6)			((lines omitted))
		((lines omitted))	
16	Kaj	[nej nu i æ dug vi skal	[no now in the tablecloth
17		tørre i æ dug (([duç]))	we must wipe in the tablecloth
18	Ane	ja >ba:re tør i dugen< det	yes just wi:pe in the
19		tror jeg heller ikke mor	tablecloth I don´t think mum

20		vil bryde sig om da ((ler))	would like that ((laughs))
(0.7)			
21	Ane	hørte du hvad han sagde mor	mum did you hear what he
22		((ler))	said ((laughs))
(0.8)			
23	Ditte	nej jeg sys- jeg syntes jeg	no I thou- I thought I heard
24		kunne høre bare lidt↑ han	just a little↑ he but then
25		men så tænker jeg	I think
26		[det kan ikke passe	[it cannot be
27	Ane	[<**skal vi så bare tørre**	[<**are we then just to wipe**
28		**æ hænder af** [**i**> **æ dug**	**our hands** [**in**> **the tablecloth**
29		(([duç], dyb, ru stemme))	((deep, coarse voice))
30	Asta	[er det godt	[is it good
31	Ulla	nej det er dejligt	no it´s great
32	Agnes	[((ler)) det var det ikke	[((laughs)) it was not

Kaj seemingly teases Ane when he corrects her clearing off the table. The subsequent interaction between the two renders support for such analysis, because Ane treats the correction (lines 1-2) as insincere in line 2. Her "ja" ("yes") is marked by the emphatic stress and a distinct pronunciation. Her "damn all"-response to his complaint "hvor skal du så tørre æ finger i" ("then where are you going to wipe the fingers", lines 4-5) is a marked disclaimer, and seems to signal a jocular frame. Kaj elaborates on the jocular frame, when he states that they wipe their hands in the tablecloth: "nej nu i æ dug vi skal tørre i æ dug" ("no now in the tablecloth we must wipe in the tablecloth", lines 16-17). Here, Kaj includes a preposed article in "the tablecloth" and a glottalised [ç] in "dug". This *klusilspring*, the glottal stop in one-syllabic words with /i:, u:, y:/ (see Schøning 2010 for description, also Monka 2013), is not a local, classical dialect feature, but a feature characteristic of the traditional dialect in the area of Kaj´s origin. Both dialect forms feature in Kaj´s routine speech (see his distribution of the preposed article in Table 6.2), and from the sequential context there is not much to indicate, that his contributions are stylised. Still, his contribution is jocularly framed, because he suggests a breaching of good manners that Ane´s mother Ditte would not like (lines 16-18) and which she would probably sanction: When Ane tells on Kaj, Ditte claims to have heard something, but could not believe what she heard (lines 23-26). With her statement, she thereby indirectly reprimands such behaviour.

Thus, having commonly agreed on the wiping of hands in the tablecloth as a breaking of social norms with her mother, Ane now produces a voice asking if they are to wipe off their hands in the tablecloth: "**skal vi så bare tørre æ hænder af i æ dug**" ("**are we then just to wipe our hands in the tablecloth",** lines 27-29). She repeats her grandfather`s use of the presposed definite article in "æ hænder", "æ dug" ("the hands", "the tablecloth", line 26) and the glottalised [ç] in "dug" ("tablecloth"). Alongside her employment of a deep, coarse voice, this brings about associations of a masculine voice. Thus, Ane produces a parodic quotation of a male voice – presumably her dialect-speaking grandfather – who, due to insufficient knowledge of good manners, proposes a behaviour that is socially out of the question and indicates uncivility. In this way, Ane appreciates her grandfather`s otherwise jocular suggestion of how to wipe their hands by stylising classical dialect features in utterances where incivilised behaviour is in play.

The extracts demonstrate how traditional dialect features are used in contexts in which the speakers display disalignment in relation to some types of social behaviour: In extract 6.4, Mikkel ridicules either a silly discussion or an irrelevant drops-sweets distinction, whereas in extract 6.6, Ane ironically presents a voice which is void of good manners.

6.4.3 Dialect in transgressions of physical integrity

In the previous episode, we saw how Ane employed dialect features in voicing an off and deviating social behavior. In the next, she similarly employs stylised dialect features in her description of how Emilie, a classmate, unintentionally breaks social rules for appropriate clothing style. The extract is from the group interview with Louise and Clara, and it precedes a sequence in which the three girls have agreed that Emilie`s general behaviour and her demeanour suggest an affiliation with the – among these three girls, at least – negatively evaluated peer group, the Bad group (see sections 3.2 and 7.4.4.2 for description).

Extract 6.7: Flabs on the back (58:43-59:07)

Participants: Ane, Louise, Clara, Signe

01	Ane	[JEG SYNES >DET ER SÅ GRIMT<	[I THINK >IT´S SO UGLY<
02	Louise	[ikke sådan rigtig (.) ikke	[not really (.) not with
03		med hendes stil↓=	her style↓=

04	Ane	=når [hun kommer i en hvi:d=	=when [she shows up in a=
05	Louise	[ikke med sin	[not with her
06	Ane	=[trø↑je ikke også	=[↑whi:te shirt right
07	Louise	[væ:remåde og	[beha:viour and
08	Clara	[xxx	[xxx
09	Ane	og nej nu gider jeg	and no now I will not sit
10		[ikke sidder og tale dumt=	[here badmouthing=
11	Louise	[hun er bare hun bruger bare	[she is just she just uses=
12	Ane	=om hende	=her
13	Louise	=meget make-up	=a lot of make-up
14	Ane	ja når hun kommer i en hvid	yes when she shows up in a
15		trøje og en hvid bh og den	white shirt and a white bra
16		hendes bh sidder <mega>	and it her bra is just
17		stramt bagpå↓	<really> tight on the back↓
18	Clara	[man kan se den	[you can see it
19	Louise	[{kan man se} ind til	[{you can see} through to
20		dellerne↓ [((ler))	the flabs↓ [((laughs))
21	Ane	[en delle det er	[flabs I am so
22		så synd for hende je-	sorry for her I-
23	Clara	((ler))	((laughs))
24	Ane	har lyst til at gå hen	feel like walking up to her
25		((ler)) og sige noget til	((laughs)) and say something
26		[hende [nej s- det gø-	[to her [no s- you do-
27	Louise	[mm	[mm
28	Clara	[næ: du har en delle	[wha:t you have
29		((ler))	flabs ((laughs))
30	Ane	**du har en delle på** (([å]))	**you have flabs on the back**
31		**æ ry?g under bh-streg**	**under bra line**
32		[((ler)) ((dyb, ru	[((laughs)) ((deep, coarse
33		stemme))	voice))
34	Louise	[((ler)) du har lige de der	[((laughs)) you just happen
35		deller der	to have those flabs there
36	Clara	((ler))	((laughs))
37	Signe	men ved I hvad (.) jeg	but you know what (.) I

The girls articulate a social taboo, and they demonstrate how it gets broken. The taboo relates to bodily representations, and it implies a) social norms for what one can appropriately flash off of one´s body, and b) social norms for what one can – and cannot – appropriately say to others: Ane gives an account of how Emilie reveals having flabs on her back when she wears white t-shirts and a really tight bra. Several elements of the account prove that – for these girls – showing your flabs is a taboo: 1) Ane describes flabs as "GRIMT" ("UGLY", line 1) and, despite not wanting to talk ill about Emilie, the showing off of flabs is a badmouthing matter (lines 9-10, 12). 2) Flabs is an embarrassment: "en delle det er så synd for hende je- har lyst til at gå hen ((ler)) og sige noget til hende" ("flabs I feel so sorry for he I- feel like walking up to her and say something", lines 21-22, 24-26). So, Ane pities Emilie and projects her as being unaware of the visibility of her flabs, with the rationale seemingly being that had Emilie known, she would hide it. In actual fact, Emilie would sometimes tematise her flabs by calling herself "erotisk buttet" ("erotically chubby") and having "kurver" ("plump", "curves"). She projected satisfaction with her body, and my impression was that she did not try to conceal it. Yet, in this context Ane, Louise and Clara perceive Emilie`s flabs as a negative of which she ought to be informed. However, Ane`s framing of "har lyst til" ("feel like", line 24) suggests that pointing out this embarrassing element to Emilie is a problematic behaviour, and in the remainder of the extract, the girls highlight how 3) flabs is an unmentionable. This relates to the second norm b) concerning the avoidance of violating another person`s face. The girls flag knowledge of this norm in several ways. Firstly, Ane initiates that bringing up Emilie`s flabs is a no-go with "nej s- det gø-" ("no s- you do-", line 26). However, secondly, Clara performs the enactment of such face-threatening behaviour: "næ: du har en delle ((ler))" ("wha:t you have flabs ((laughs)), lines 28-29). Here, the spill cry (Goffman 1981: 101) "næ:" ("wha:t") signals surprise, and this underlines an apparent necessity to pretend surprise in order to innocently point out the flabs. Thirdly, Ane playfully upkeys the inappropriate behaviour in "**du har en delle på æ ry?g under bh-streg**" ("**you have flabs on the back below bra line**", lines 30-32) with 1) a marked Jutlandic intonation, 2) the dialect pronunciation [å] for "på" ("on"), 3) the preposed definite article and the West Jutlandic *stød* in "æ ryg" ("the back") and 4) a deep, coarse voice. Ane`s contribution thereby comes across as the voicing of an inappropriate behaviour which one ought to not to pursue.

What we witness in extract 6.7 is the projection of two different types of inappropriateness: One relates to revealing one`s flabs, and according to the girls, Emilie violates a social norm of concealing her bodily misfortune. As a taboo, Emilie`s flabs is such self-embarrassment, that she

ought to be informed, but doing so would conflict with a second type of inappropriateness, namely the damaging of Emilie´s face. When, however, the girls playfully perform this face-threatening activity, Ane employs a dialect voice to key the inappropriate behaviour. It makes sense to see this deep and coarse dialect voice as a masculine representation, because it reacts to the breaking of appropriate female behaviour: Emilie does not only violate social norms, when she shows off her flabs, but also, as Louise explains it (lines 11-13), when she wears too much make-up. Emilie`s norm-breaking behaviour therefore relates to girl`s norms. As result, Ane`s contribution comes about as a representation of male insensitivity and/or ignorance concerning appropriate representations of the female body.

The issue of inappropriate behaviour is likewise the focus in the next episode. It is part of a long sequence in which the adolescents use the recording platform to play with sexual taboos and physical integrity by repeated and playfully framed transgressions of social norms (see analyses in Jaspers & Meeuwis 2013 for similar types of interactions in which participants critically comment on the fact that they are being recorded). They sit in the school cantina and are supposed to do a group assignment during German class (see also extract 7.8). In the episode, they imitate performing a sexual act, which gets instantiated by and alluded to with repeated slapping sounds throughout the extract. The slapping activity is repeatedly keyed as laughable (e.g. lines 3, 9, 21, 25-28, 35), and, as performed entertainment, it is directed at the recorder (see Schøning & Møller 2009 for descriptions of the recorder as a ratified participant in interaction). The extract takes off when Kim systematically starts to moan and produce the slapping sounds, presumably by slapping his hands together:

Extract 6.8: All down by the floor (7.28-8:18)

Participants: Ane, Anne, Clara, Kim, Martin, Mikkel, Tobias

01	Kim	[((høje støn og	[((high pitched moans and
02		systematiske klaskelyd))	systematic slapping sounds))
03	All	[((ler))	[((laugh))
04	Kim	((ler)) Anne kommer og	((laughs)) Anne comes to
05		sma:drer os allesammen	sma:sh us all
06	Tobias	((hurtige klaskelyde))	((rapid slapping sounds))
07	Clara	ej [Tobias↓ >helt seriøst<	no [Tobias↓ >seriously<
08	Kim	[ah: ((hurtige klask))	[ah: ((rapid slaps))

09	Tobias	((ler))	((ler))
(0.6)			
10	Ane	ah: the king of	ah: *the king of*
11		[li↑on: ((ler))	[*li↑on:* ((laughter))
12	Unknown	[↑HU:↓	[↑HU:↓
13	Tobias	[((ler))	[((laughs))
14	Kim	Ane Ane Ane ((klask der	Ane Ane Ane ((slaps which
15		følger rytmen i	follow the rhythm in
16		"Ane"))	"Ane"))
17	Mikkel	det her det (.) det her det	this (.) this is
18		er Tobias (0,6) sound	Tobias (0,6) *sound*
(1.5)			
19	Tobias	**nej det er sådan her**	**no it`s like this** ((slower
20		((langsommere klask))	slaps))
21	All	((ler))	((laugh))
22	Anne	°hvad er det°	°what´s that°
23	Mikkel	det er fandme hængenosser	that´s fucking hanging balls
24		hvis [de siger sådan der↓	if [they sound like that↓
25	Tobias	[((ler))	[((laughs))
26	Kim	[((ler))	
27	Tobias	((ler)) ja det kommer xxx	((laughs)) yes it goes xxx
28		[((ler))	[((laughs))
29	Mikkel	**↓hå- ↓HÅber jeg det håber**	**↓ho- ↓I HOpe that I fucking**
30		**jeg** ((ler)) **fandme æt** (([?]))	((laughs)) **hope not**
31		**for dig** ((, dyd stemme,	**for you** ((deep voice,
32		klaskelyde begynder))	Slapping sounds start))
(0.8)		((klaskelyde))	((slapping sounds))
33	Mikkel	det er bare {sådan noget}	it´s just {like this}
34		((hårde klaskelyde))	((forceful slapping sounds))
35	Tobias	((ler)) [((ler))=	((laughs)) [((laughs))=
36	Mikkel	[**eller sådan nogen**	[**or someone**
37		**der hænger helt nede ved**	**hanging all down to**
38		**æ gulv**↑ ((dyb stemme))	**æ gulv**↑ (deep voice))
39	Tobias	=°ja Mikkel° ((ler))	=°yes Mikkel° ((laughs))

The slapping sounds may be accompanied with body movements: In line 6, Tobias takes part in the slapping activity, but receives a negative reaction from Clara: "ej [Tobias↓ >helt seriøst<" ("no [Tobias↓ >seriously<", line 7). Tobias might be doing something physically to Kim who moans: "ah:" (line 8). Here, the emphasis of the prolonged sound projects pleasure, and the sequence lines 6-9 bring about associations of sexual intercourse. This allusion is repeated when Kim systematically says "Ane" (lines 14-16) while producing a slapping sound, which brings about associations of name-calling while having sex.

The indication that Tobias physically demonstrates sexual movements is further amplified in lines 17-18. Here, Mikkel specifically assigns the slapping sounds to Tobias: "det her det er Tobias" ("this is Tobias"). Thus, he presumably demonstrates what Tobias does, but it is not possible to detect exactly what from the audio recording. Tobias plays along with it, corrects Mikkel and, with the take-up of a slowing of the slapping sound, demonstrates how he does the inaudible activity: "**nej det er sådan her**" ("**no it`s like this**", line 19-20). Here, he employs a Stylised *københavnsk* intonation (see chapter 7) with which he projects a strategically inauthentic stance and thereby distance to the activity. As a comment on these sounds, Mikkel declares that "that´s fucking hanging balls if they sound like that↓" (lines 23-24). Having thus set up a connection between Tobias, the slapping sound and hanging balls, Mikkel projects the latter as undesirable: "**ˈhå- ˈHÅber jeg det håber jeg** ((ler)) **fandme œʔt for dig**" ("**ˈho- ˈI HOpe that I fucking** ((laughs)) **hope not for you**", lines 29-31). When he alters the slapping sounds in lines 33-34, he elaborates on the undesirability by pointing to the deformity of the exceptionally long balls: "**eller sådan nogen der hænger helt nede ved œ gulv**↑" ("**or someone hanging all down to the floor**↑", lines 37-38). Mikkel keys both contributions as unserious: His repeated employment of an exaggerated Jutlandic intonation, the dialect negation "æt" ("not", line 30) and the West Jutlandic *stød*, the preposed definite article in "æ gulv" ("the floor", line 38) and a marked forceful aspiration in the swear word "fandeme" (line 30). Mikkel`s contributions, then, project physical unattractive features, which he ascribes to Tobias. Up till this moment, Tobias has projected a continuous amusement with the activity. However, in his final speaker turn, Tobias projects embarrassment through a minor rejection of Mikkel`s unflattering ascription produced in a quiet giggling voice "°ja Mikkel°" ("°yes Mikkel°, line 39). This alteration of the frame now puts an end to the activity.

In the extract, we see how Mikkel teasingly describes Tobias` private parts, after Tobias – presumably – has faked sexual intercourse. The slapping sounds throughout the extract are key elements in both activities, and Mikkel uses the slappings to build up a characteristic of Tobias as unattractive due a bodily deformity. He employs Stylised *vestjysk* features to verbalise the bodily taboo, parallel to what we saw in extract 6.7, where Emilie`s flabs on the back was similar projected as a flaw she had better conceal.

Thus, both episodes demonstrate how the adolescents treat bringing up the face-threatening aspect of bodily taboos, flabs and exceptionally long hanging balls, respectively. In extract 6.7 the context is one in which Ane, Clara and Louise describe Emilie in the group interview. In extract 6.8 the mentioning of hanging balls comes up in a performative and unserious context in which the adolescents act out sexual activity partly as a compliment to the recorder (and, subsequently, the researcher). The adolescents in both extracts project orientations towards norms for appropriate behaviour according to what is acceptable to say to others (extract 6.7) in recording situations (extract 6.8). Moreover, by keying the taboos in Stylised *vestjysk* voices they further link bodily deformities with dialect speakers, so that dialect and bodily deviantions come to go hand in hand.

6.4.4 Dialect in deconstructions of self-claimed authority

In the final two episodes, we see how the adolescents employ Stylised *vestjysk*, when they close minor disputes. In the first, Anders, Martin and Tobias are playing the computer game League of Legends online. Each sits in his room and communicates with the other two via skype. They have teamed up against another team, and at the beginning of the extract, Tobias singles out the two opposing players, Wukong and Shen.

Extract 6.9: Teemo (7:56-8:20)

Participants: Anders (recording), Martin, Tobias

01	Tobias	åhåh: >det her det bliver	ahah: >this will be fucking
02		fucking easy:↑< ((synger))	*easy*:↑< ((sings)) (1.0) hey
03		(1.0) hey vi to Anders vi	you and I Anders we want to
04		vil gerne imod (.) Wukong	go against (.) Wukong und
05		und Shen	Shen
(0.8)			

06	Anders	nej ((fnyser)) Wukong	no ((snorts)) Wukong
07		[og Teemo	[and Teemo
08	Tobias	[jo det vil vi gerne (1.0)	[yes we would (1.0)
09		hvad↑	what↑
10	Anders	**a kunne godt bruge Teemo**	**I could use Teemo**
(1.2)			
11	Tobias	n- nej det kunne man ikke	n- no one couldt (.)
12		(.) Wukong og Shen det er	Wukong and Shen that´s two
13		to meele mod to ra- rangeds	meele against to ra- rangeds
14	Anders	arh okay jeg kan godt se	uh okay I see it↓ (0.8)
15		det↓ (0.8) men jeg er sgu	but well I am damn I am damn
16		da jeg er sgu da halvt	well half meele one could
17		meele kan man godt sige	say

Tobias` opening lines are ambiguous: At one and the same time he projects danger with the spill cry "åhhå:" ("ahah", line 1) and a winner`s position, when he singingly claims that ">this will be fucking easy↑:"<. He then goes on to suggest whom of the opposing players he and Anders should try to defeat: "hey you and I Anders we want to go against (.) Wukong und Shen" (lines 3-5), two game avatars. His suggestion comes across as an ascertainment, which Anders, with an emphatic "no" and a snort (line 6), strongly opposes. Instead, Anders takes an oppositional position: That they fight Wukong and Teemo (lines 6-7). Tobias` negative reaction (line 8) overlaps Anders` suggestion, and his "what" (line 9) projects having missed out on the new suggestion. Anders now distances from the serious context, when he repeats his opinion in a significantly altered way: "**a kunne godt bruge Teemo**" ("**I could use Teemo**", line 10). Thus he mitigates the conflict, because 1) whereas Tobias previously presented the wish to fight Wukong and Shen as a shared wish ("vi" ("we") in lines 3, 8), Anders now presents the preference for fighting Wukong and Teemo as a personal wish ("a" ("I"), line 10) and 2) in a slightly more polite way "a kunne godt bruge" ("I could use", line 10). Finally, 3) he employs the dialect 1.pers.pers. pronoun "a". Thus, he rekeys the seriousness of the interaction through means of politeness and the marked personal pronoun with which he makes it less serious. Tobias maintains his argumentative stance "no one could not" (line 11), but he goes on to argue why: Because "Wukong and Shen that´s two mili against two ra-rangeds", (line 12-13). Hence, he refers to the avatars` fighting skills, and, by having thus flagged

detailed gaming comprehension, Anders now compromisingly buys his argument by acknowledging Tobias` preference for Wukong and Shen (lines 14-17).

The "no-yes" structure in lines 6-7 signals alignment polarity and the strong and conflicting expressions of opposing opinions on how to best and most successfully defeat the other team and, consequently, win the game. As result, the episode not only demonstrates the discussions of gaming strategies among the boys, but also the projections of gaming expertise and authoritative "who-knows-best" (Goodwin 1990: 148). As a resource to take the seriousness out of the dispute, the dialect employments are means to soften the conflict, and thus the inclusion of the speech style mitigates the conflicting authoritative stances.

In the final extract in this chapter, we see how Kristian employs Stylised *vestjysk* to similarly soften a conflicting situation where he has just claimed authority. Bjørn, Kristian and Nina sit in the library during Math class. They have to solve a Sudoku, which gives them quite a headache. While Bjørn quickly lost interest in the task, Kristian and Nina have continued trying to solve it, to no avail, however. Concurrently with not participating in the school activity, Bjørn has continuously obstructed the others` work by being noisy and unfocused, much to Kristian`s dissatisfaction. The extract takes off when Bjørn asks Nina if she has (yet) solved the Sudoku (lines 2-3):

Extract 6.10: Because I have tried (28:16-28:48)

Participants: Bjørn, Kristian, Nina

01	Bjørn	har du lavet den Nina	have you finished it Nina
02		((trommer på bordet)=	((taps at the table))=
03	Nina	=nej kun de to første (.)	=no only the first two (.)
04		jeg mangler stadigvæk	I still have to finish
05		syv	seven
(1.7)		((høj bankelyd))	((loud banging noise))
06	Kristian	hov hov hov [nar	hey hey hey [jerk
07	Bjørn	[nå >så lad mig	[well >then let
08		så lad mig så lad mig↓< så	me then let me then let
09		(.) lad (.) MIG (.) en og	me↓< then (.) let (.) ME
10		så mangler vi to og så	(.) one and then we need
11		mangler vi: fem=	two and then we need five=

12	Nina	=ja to og fem	=yes to and five
(0.7)			
13	Kristian	men det er der ikke (1.0)	but it´s not there (1.0)
14		for **a har prøvet** (0.8)	because **I have tried** (0.8)
15		xxx	xxx
(2.3)		((Nina hoster))	((Nina coughs))
16	Kristian	mmmmmmm((synger/gaber))	mmmmmmm((sings/yawns))
17	Nina	lige min stil	exactly my style

Nina explains how she still needs to finish seven rows in the Sudoku at which point Bjørn loudly bangs the table. This contributes an element of impatience and annoyance with the lack of progression with the task. Bjørn verbalises this in lines 7-11 with repeated "then let me" after having snatched the Sudoku from Kristian (line 6). Kristian rejects to Bjørn grabbing the Sudoku: "hov hov hov" ("hey hey hey", line 6) and provides an insult "nar" ("jerk", line 6). From Bjørn`s increasingly annoyed-sounding iterations of "så lad mig" ("then let me", lines 7-9), it appears that some kind of physical struggle takes place between the two. It seems that Kristian lets go, and Bjørn now starts solving the Sudoku: "one and then we need two and then we need five" (lines 9-11). Apparently, Bjørn`s attempt does not help solving the task, because Kristian states that this is not the way to do so: "but it`s not there" (line 13). Kristian thereby projects an a-priori knowledge of the problem and, subsequently, expertise. His utterance, however, seems ambiguous, because while at one and the same time flagging expert knowledge, he also indirectly points to his previous failure to solve the Sudoku. He employs Stylised *vestjysk* features through a marked Jutlandic intonation and the 1 pers.pers. pronoun "a" when he states that "**I have tried**" (line 14). Framed this way, Kristian`s utterance contributes to the softening of his self-claimed authoritative and objective footing. From the audio it seems as if Kristian now leans back and produces what appears to be a combination of a long yawn and singing nonsense, thereby leaving it to Bjørn to finish the Sudoku (line 16).

In the extract, Bjørn takes control of a dead-end situation and exercises considerable authority. In so doing, he projects significant face-threatening behaviour – both by grabbing the Sudoku out of Kristian`s hands, but also by nullifying the work that Kristian and Nina have already done. At first, Kristian does not unwillingly give in. He strongly objects to being put down and flags an expert knowledge and, subsequently, an authoritative stance that contradicts the authority that Bjørn tried

to establish. However, Kristian does eventually give in, and when doing so, he employs Stylised *vestjysk*. The use of this speech style contributes to diminish his authoritative expert stance, because it provides a non-serious keying to the conflicting interactional frame.

Extracts 6.9 and 6.10 illustrate interactional instances where questions of authority and expertise are at stake. In both episodes, conflicting opinions and stances threaten to hamper the interactional progression and the successful development of a computer game and a Sudoku. In these contexts, Stylised *vestjysk* contributes to taking the edge off the conflicting interaction. Thus, it makes the encounter less serious, less authoritative and less expert-like.

6.5 The characterological figure of Stylised *vestjysk*

This chapter deals with classical *vestjysk* dialect from two different perspectives: As a denotational system in the study of dialect change within one family (sections 6.2 and 6.3) and as a total linguistic fact in eight episodes of Stylised *vestjysk* among the Oksbøl youth (section 6.4). The former exemplifies the substantial dialect levelling that is characteristic of Danish dialects more generally. Thus, part of this chapter contributes to the larger body of work narrating the story of dialect loss in quantitative terms. However, the focus of this chapter is on how this story is effectuated among speakers, and how they communicate it in their everyday encounters. The latter therefore focuses on the interactional affordances of and the social meaning ascriptions to the few remaining dialect features. These numerically insignificant features would be hard to reconcile with a traditional variationistic approach. The latter perspective therefore amplifies a methodology that encircles well the situated dialect performances of contemporary youth (also Snell 2015), and we see that Stylised *vestjysk* is used

- When the adolescents deal with academic incompetence (extracts 6.3 and 6.4, but also extract 6.10). The inclusion of the dialect features, however, points to disaffiliation with the incompetent stances, and, as such, indicates low investments with the encountered problems. This holds particularly salient for Rose and Katrine in extract 6.4 whose parodic framing of their lacking skills functions as a dismissal of a stupid school activity.
- When they dismiss social activities (extracts 6.4 and 6.5) through negative evaluations and disaffiliation.
- When they transgress norms of social behaviour, e.g. to project uncivil manners (extract 6.6) and to hamper other`s face (extract 6.7).

- When they mention unmentionables in relation to transgressions of body norms (extract 6.7) and physical unattractiveness, whereby a violation of the informative preserve of the personal territory (Goffman 1971: 38-39) occurs (extract 6.8), that is; the control of what information of one´s body should be publicly known.
- When they mitigate and deconstruct pre-stated authoritative and oppositional stances in conflict situations (extracts 6.9 and 6.10). In these contexts, the stylisations and the linguistic features employed can be seen as epistemic markers that soften ritually sensitive moments in which social relations have been disrupted or jeopardised. This is in line with Rampton (2009) who, building on Goffman`s (1971) concept of interaction rituals, argues that his stylisations of posh and Cockney are useful resources in the restorations of social relations and of interactional disruptions.

Apart from demonstrating the quantitative declining dialect employment among the three generations in Ane`s family, this chapter also documents the changing ideologies of *vestjysk* by eliciting different snapshots of enregisterment. What we see is the coexistence of two distinctive social registers: 1) an unmarked, non-stylised register indicative of the grandparent and, to a less extent, of the parent generation, and 2) a marked and inauthentic stylised register that encapsulates the indexical field ascribed to this register. Thus, this transformation singles out how *vestjysk* goes from being a 1st order indexical and a resource useful when elder speakers perform the routine and unmarked to being indexical of a particular social position. In employments of Stylised *vestjysk*, the youngsters outline this social position in highly stereotypic ways. Consequently, this social position comes 1) with a face and 2) with ideological ideas about a socio-demographic character. And, when considered as a whole, the data display the boiling down – or narrowing – of this social position to a characterological figure (Agha 2007), that is; "any image of personhood that is performable through a semiotic display or enactment" (Agha 2007: 165). This is a socially performable persona, which is linked to specific speech practices, here *vestjysk* dialect, and which is expressive of particular social stances to which the adolescents project considerable social misalignment (Agha 2007: 177). Similar developments for non-standard features have been reported elsewhere (e.g. Bennet 2012 on stylised *chavspeak* in the UK). Johnstone (forthc.) describes a similar progression for Pittsburghese. Once an indicator of the Pittsburgh population, it is now indexical of one stigmatised persona and heavily invested with stereotypes associated with white, lower social class and certain types of

crude and unattractive behaviour. Johnstone illustrates how this persona is displayed in the "Yappin Yinzers", two talking plush dolls available for commercial consumption in Pittsburgh.

Firstly, the characterological dialect figure comes about through a) the choice of linguistic features and b) voice alterations. The dialect features and the exaggerated Jutlandic intonation firmly place this persona in a West Jutlandic, rural context. Moreover, this persona seems indexical of a particular gender. The deep and coarse voice alterations (e.g. extracts 6.4, 6.5 and 6.8, also extract 5.1) suggest a masculine persona. This is especially outspoken in extract 6.6, where Ane produces a secondary representation of her grandfather, and in extract 6.7 in which she demonstrates presumed male insensitivity towards and ignorance of proper female body-representations. Stylised *vestjysk* is therefore indexical of a male, rural persona. Secondly, this male persona behaves in stereotypical ways. These behavioural patterns are expressed by the ways in which the dialect features key the social activities in which they occur, and in what these changes of footing and frame alterations are meant to imply interactionally. As the male persona cannot answer quiz questions (extract 6.3) or solve a math problem (extract 6.4), he lacks academic competence. However, the ignorance spills over in other parts of social life, as it also concerns his behaviour towards others: He exercises crude and uncivil manners, both as regards hygienic table manners (extract 6.6) and insincerity towards other`s face (extract 6.7). His breaching of social normative behaviour may be unintended, so that when he points out Emilie`s flabs in extract 6.7, he may not know that this is inappropriate - presumably because of his sex and because of his bodily deviation (the exceptionally long male genitals), which makes him sexually unattractive (extract 6.7). Furthermore, the ignorance seems to relate to stupidity, because he makes fussy arguments in stupid discussions (extract 6.5). Finally, as the male persona mitigates pre-stated expertise, he has little, if none, authority and is not to be taken serious (extracts 6.9 and 6.10). The Stylised *vestjysk* persona is therefore somehow out of step with different patterns of general normative behaviour, and as result, this stereotypic icon is ideologically linked to low social status and non-prestige (also Coupland 2001).

This chapter has illustrated the everyday subtleties through which the adolescents revalourise and reinforce their motivations for not using non-stylised dialect features. This, as we have just seen, has implication for how they use the local dialect, but it also holds significant consequence for how they value and look upon Oksbøl as a resourceful place. I return to this in chapter 8, which

compares the indexical valences of Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* and treats these in relation to larger socio-political and socio-cultural processes of centralisation and peripheralisation in Denmark. To do that, we now turn to scrutinise the use of Copenhagen features among the adolescents.

Chapter 7: Stylised *københavnsk* and the local enregisterment of an ideologically hegemonic resource

Chapter 5 demonstrated a significant quantitative number of Copenhagen-based Standard Danish variants in the adolescents` unmarked and non-stylised speech practices. This corresponds to findings elsewhere (e.g. Juel Jensen & Maegaard 2010, 2012, Jul Nielsen & Nyberg 1992, 1993). The Copenhagen dominance within Danish society is typically explained as the continuous enregisterment of Copenhagen and Copenhagen speech as representative of high social and cultural status and prestige. Kristiansen (2001) points out that "in Danish society in general, and in institutions like the school and the spoken media in particular, the highest level of linguistic ´excellence` is associated with Copenhagen speech" (Kristiansen 2001: 11, also Kristiansen 1990). Kristiansen et al. (2013, also Kristensen 2015) point to ideological notions of "best language" as a driving force in language change, and the influence of the Standard Danish ideology and Contemporary Copenhagen speech on the Danish sociolinguistic economy at large have been widely documented in attitudinal studies of language ideologies (e.g. Kristiansen 2001, 2003, 2009, 2014, 2015, Maegaard 2001, 2005). Kristiansen (1990, 2014, 2015) explicates how the school system from the 1960s onwards and the spoken media continue to be key factors in maintaining this ideological structure. Through the codification of official writing and speaking norms by public institutions such as Dansk Sprognævn (Danish Language Council) and Danmarks Radio (Danish Broadcasting Corporation) (also Thøgersen 2015), standard Danish ideologies and standard normativities are constantly reinforced and reproduced. The result is that Danes in every part of Denmark are immersed in Copenhagen-based speech norms and are exposed to considerable amounts of Copenhagen speech, through the educational system and the media, in the routines of their daily lives (Kristiansen 2014: 122, see Agha 2007: 192 for similar status ascription applying to Received Pronunciation).

As a national phenomenon, it goes without saying that this influences both linguistic and broader social practices among the Oksbøl youth (see chapter 3), but, as was evident in chapter 5, they do not recognise the "Copenhagenisation" (Kristiansen et al. 2013: 355) of their routine speech practices. Rather, they seem to oppose to such affiliation due to noncompliance with the social values attached to Copenhagen speech. This was particularly outspoken when Ulrik in extract 5.1 projected disaffiliation with his Copenhagen biking acquaintances who, when they squabble all at

once, show off. Still, as I carried out fieldwork, I noticed how the adolescents repeatedly employed a Copenhagen intonation, and as I went through my audio recordings, this feature came out as the most frequently occurring linguistic resource in stylisations. This suggests that – despite the degrading of and disaffiliation with Copenhagen speech among the adolescents – it is a viable and much-used social resource. This leaves the question of what it means when non-Copenhagen speakers take on a speech practice, which resembles a Copenhagen intonation, and why they do so. This is the topic of the present chapter.

Chapter 5 reports on the adolescents` employment of linguistic variants that originally emanated and spread from Copenhagen speech. These were unmarked features, meaning that the adolescents did not attend to these variants as Copenhagen speech. A Copenhagen intonation, in contrast, stood out as marked among the adolescents (e.g. extract 7.1). As a stylised feature, it often co-occurred with a few other marked Copenhagen features (see section 7.3), with laughter, changing voice qualities or keyed a change of interactional frame and footing. Through microanalyses this chapter discerns the interactional affordances and the indexical valences of marked Copenhagen features, and it detects how a Copenhagen register is immersed with social meaning among the Oksbøl adolescents. It builds on 30 hours of self-recordings and three hours of group interview. I have analysed every instance of Copenhagen speech, as these were observable to me in the 33 hours of audio recording. As result, the data for this chapter comprises 46 episodes in which one or more marked Copenhagen features occur (see Appendix E). The data reveals how the Copenhagen features cluster in a palpable register, a cultural model linking linguistic forms with social stereotypes (Agha 2007: 144): Firstly, the features are used in highly regular patterns, and in all 46 episodes, the Copenhagen features function as stylised elements. The regularity of this metapragmatic activity across many hours of data and many speakers indicates a normatively restricted scope of utility, implying that Copenhagen features may appropriately be employed when one voices a strategically inauthentic footing, but – as I did not find much evidence for non-stylised use of a Copenhagen intonation in the data – this feature might be inappropriate when one speaks in one`s unmarked voice. Secondly, the contexts in which the stylised Copenhagen features occur repeatedly introduce similar metapragmatic stereotypes, suggesting that these are metapragmatic typifications, which "can be observed and documented as data" (Agha 2007: 154). Such use, however, is not widely represented in the media or in popular culture, in contrast to speech styles widely documented in sociolinguistic accounts of inner-city speech practices (e.g. Hyttel-Sørensen

2016, Madsen 2016, Rampton 2015), but still it has proven an easily recognisable register among university colleagues in data sessions and in retrospective discussion of the 46 episodes with a young male Oksbølian (see section 7.1 below). The adolescents on few occasions refer to it as *københavnsk* ("Copenhagen speech", see also extract 7.1), but in order to acknowledge it as a local resource and to distinguish it from Copenhagen speech produced by Copenhageners, I label it Stylised *københavnsk*. This label is based on a characteristic of the regular iterations of linguistic forms employed (section 7.2) and on the "enregistering practices" (Rampton 2015: 39) among the adolescents in situated encounters.

An important preliminary empirical point to be made is that Stylised *københavnsk* is a locally rooted social resource emanating from locally situated contexts. These contexts are

> "infused with resources, representations, experiences and expectations that have origins and destinations beyond the [individual contexts themselves], linked to networks and processes that can be very varied in their reach, in their duration and in their capacity to bestow power, privilege or stigma" (Rampton 2015: 40).

Stylised *københavnsk* is therefore to be seen as a local product that takes its distinctive characteristics from the youngsters` past and present experiences with Copenhagen speech, the current status ascriptions to Copenhagen, power and wider macro-structural formations. As we will see in chapter 8, the adolescents` situated uses of Stylised *københavnsk* are informative of wider macro-societal ideological and hegemonic projections of center and peripheral Denmark. As such, their use of this Copenhagen register functions as a response to these structures. This chapter opens with a description of the initial challenges of demarcating the Copenhagen data (section 7.1), of how the register is recognised as Copenhagen among the adolescents themselves (section 7.2) and of the linguistic features, alongside the Copenhagen intonation, that make up the register (section 7.3) before turning to detailed micro-analyses of nine episodes of Stylised *københavnsk* (section 7.4). The analyses demonstrate how Stylised *københavnsk* is more about stance-taking than the secondary representation of one iconic persona, and that it is a social resource indexical of prestige and high social status.

7.1 Identifying Stylised *københavnsk* as data

The Copenhagen associations of the linguistic features have been verified in retrospective conversation with a male, Oksbøl adolescent and in data sessions with colleagues at the departments of Nordic Research and of Nordic Studies and Linguistics, University of Copenhagen. Discussions of the episodes among colleagues pointed to interesting disagreements in the identification of Stylised *københavnsk*. Questions regarding listener origin and familiarity with linguistic usage arose, as the academic groups consisted of speakers of both Copenhagen and Jutland descents. For the major part, all listeners – the Jutlanders especially (myself included) – agreed on the identifications. The Jutlanders generally needed only very subtle features to identify a stretch of talk as containing elements of Copenhagen speech, e.g. small intonational changes in single words, whereas the Copenhageners did not necessarily hear these minor changes as remarkably different from the surrounding talk. The retrospective conversation, on the other hand, revealed no listener disagreements between the Oksbøl adolescent and myself. He did not figure in the ethnography, but attended Blåvandshuk Skole while I carried out the fieldwork. He was preferred to the participants in the project, because, as the participants all knew each other – at least to some extent – they would most likely recognise each other in the episodes. This, subsequently, would hamper their anonymity. I did not disclose an interest in Stylised *københavnsk*, but underlined a focus on social stereotypes in relation to language use. Still, he confirmed all instances of Stylised *københavnsk*. By listening to a subsample of 30 episodes of Stylised københavnsk, he pointed out the stylistic elements and categorised them as Copenhagen speech by reference to intonation contours, discourse markers and prosodic features (see description below in section 7.3).

This part of the analytical process highlighted two aspects in relation to understanding the social embeddedness of the linguistic resources under scrutiny: 1) Linguistic features must be considered from the context in which they occur, or they might lose their social significance (e.g. Blommaert 2005: 78-80, 2010). Thus, they need to be "investigated rather than assumed" (Rampton et al. 2015: 18), a basic tenet in Linguistic Ethnography (see section 2.4). This became particularly salient when Stylised *københavnsk* travelled from the linguistic economy in Oksbøl to that of University of Copenhagen and academic discussions. This recontextualisation clearly influenced the recognition, the acknowledgment and the enregisterment of the linguistic features (also Snell forthc.). This connects with 2), namely that Stylised *københavnsk* produced by Jutlanders may not be identical to Contemporary Copenhagen produced by Copenhageners. This means that while Copenhageners

may – as was sometimes the case in data sessions – perceive Stylised *københavnsk* as merely odd-sounding or as some kind of regionally-flavoured Standard Danish, Jutlanders may still identify these local productions as Copenhagen. In this sense, Stylised *københavnsk* is not Copenhagen speech, but an emblematic representation of "Copenhagenness" linked to ideological perceptions of social practices, norms and speakers (Blommaert 2010: 29-30). The fact that it did not necessarily sound like "proper" Copenhagen speech only became relevant when it was presented to Copenhagen speakers, and what matters is how the linguistic features are understood and used in the local, Oksbølian context (e.g. Eckert 2008). The first episode in this chapter explicates how the adolescents themselves use and ascribe the category "Copenhagen" as a vector to certain speech forms.

7.2 Linguistic topicalisation

The episode comes from a self-recording in which Ane, her parents and two younger siblings, Mathias and Asta, drive in their car. The three siblings are seated in the backseat, they sing along with tunes on the radio and talk about schoolwork and sports. The episode serves two functions for the argument of the present chapter: 1) it explicates how Ane identifies performable signs as Copenhagen features when she criticises her sister´s playful employment of these features, and, in doing so, 2) introduces notions of appropriate, local linguistic behaviour. The following section focuses on the first function, whereas the second is treated in section 7.4.

Ane instigates all of her self-recordings by framing the recording context to ease the future listener`s understanding of the situation. She contextualises this particular recording frame the following way:

00:02- 00:20: Contextualisation of the recording (my translation)

Ane: okay I- I am in the car and it is (.) um a quarter to six Sunday the 22nd- 27th of November and we are on our way home from mm (.) um (.) f- s- what was it fourtieth birth- fourtieth wedding day anniversary in [village] at my grandmother and grandfather`s↓ (.) tsk yes in the car we are >my dad my mum Mathias Asta and me↓<

During the drive, Asta reveals a continuous interest in the recorder and the recording. The episode occurs late in the recording and just prior to it, Asta asks if the recorder is (still) on and starts addressing it:

Extract 7.1: Denmarker (30:05-30:48)

Participants: Ane (recording, age 14), Mathias (age 12), Asta (age 6)

01	Asta	**og vi er i Janderup**	**and we are in Janderup**
02		**sammen med mor far Ane**	**with mor far Ane**
03		**Mathias og** (.) **Asta↓**	**Mathias and** (.) **Asta↓**
(1.6)			
04	Mathias	vi er i Oksbøl snart	we are soon in Oksbøl
(1.0)			
05	Ane	**og↑ vi kører i bilen og**	**and↑ we drive in the car**
06		**vi er snart i Oksbøl↓**	**and are in Oksbøl soon↓**
07	Ane	det har taget tredive	it has taken thirty
08		minutter og vi har endda	minutes and we even went
09		vendt og det hele (.)	back and everything (.)
10		kørt tilbage og	went back and
11	Asta	**og↑ (2.4) >vi har været**	**and↑ (2.4) >we have been at**
12		**omme ved min ↓mo'r↑mor og**	**my ↓grand↑ma and ↓grand↑pa<**
13		**↓mo'r↑far< og vi har**	**and we have had such**
14		**hygget os så me:get**	**a great time**
15	Ane	**okay din københavner**	**okay you Copenhagener**
16		**altså**	**honestly**
(2.7)			
17	Asta	>HOLD LIGE OP DIN	>KNOCK IT OFF YOU
18		DANMARKER<	DENMARKER<
19	Ane	((ler)) (.) jyllænder	((laughs)) (.) Jutlander
20	Asta	uh jeg-	uh I-
21	Mathias	Oksbølianer	Oksbølian
22	Ane	[oksbølianer nej	[Oksbølian no
23	Asta	[og og	[and and

In lines 1 through 14, Asta constructs a commentator role when she copies Anes initial framing of the recording situation. She states their physical position (in the car passing Janderup, a small village close to Oksbøl) and who is present, and she assesses their past activity (lines 11-14). Asta voices the commentator role with a Copenhagen intonation and intensifies her use of Copenhagen prosodic features in "˯moˈr˥mor og ˯moˈr˥far" ("grandma and grandpa", lines 12-13). The onsets are strikingly lower and the rise much more extreme from the stressed to the unstressed syllable, and the stresses in the first syllables are significantly stronger than in her unmarked speech. However, alongside these features, she also employs the directional adverb "omme ved" ("at", line 11). This is typical of Contemporary Jutlandic, whereas "hjemme hos"/"henne hos" ("at the home of"/"at") would be expected in Contemporary Copenhagen (Hovmark 2011). Despite this mix of linguistic features associated with different cultural models, Ane reacts to the upkeying and topicalises Asta`s playful performance as Copenhagen: "okay din københavner altså" ("okay you Copenhagener honestly"). Ane´s response singles out that it takes very few features for some stretch of talk to be identified as Copenhagen speech – even if these co-occur with non-Copenhagen features. This may be unsurprising, because marked features, such as a Copenhagen intonation, are easier to identify than unmarked ones. The episode thus elucidates how Ane recognises and indexes a Copenhagen accent and thereby points to general issues of the identification and definition of Stylised *københavnsk*: 1) Copenhagen speech – however minimally produced – is remarkable to speakers of Contemporary West Jutlandic. 2) It is easier to identify or be attentive to even very subtle features that differ from one`s unmarked speech.

7.3 Stylised *københavnsk* as performable signs

Asta and Ane employ a Copenhagen intonation alongside other prosodic features. Before we proceed to looking at situated employments of Stylised *københavnsk*, this section describes the typical linguistic features that index this register among the Oksbøl adolescents.

A Copenhagen intonation is the prime marker of Stylised *københavnsk*. The adolescents employ this feature in every episode considered to involve Stylised *københavnsk* in the data, and it is often the only register indication. Literature (e.g. Grønnum 1992, Kyst 2008, Pharao & Hansen 2005) describes the prototypical Copenhagen intonation contour as rising from a low onset in the stressed syllable to a relatively high onset in the following unstressed syllable. Figures 7.1 and 7.2 elicit the different intonation contours in "seksten" ("sixteen"), produced by Anders in interaction with his

family (see extract 7.3 below). Figure 7.1 depicts a Stylised *københavnsk* version, whereas figure 7.2 illustrates an unmarked, habitual Contemporary West Jutlandic intonation contour. The capital letters represent the stressed syllables.

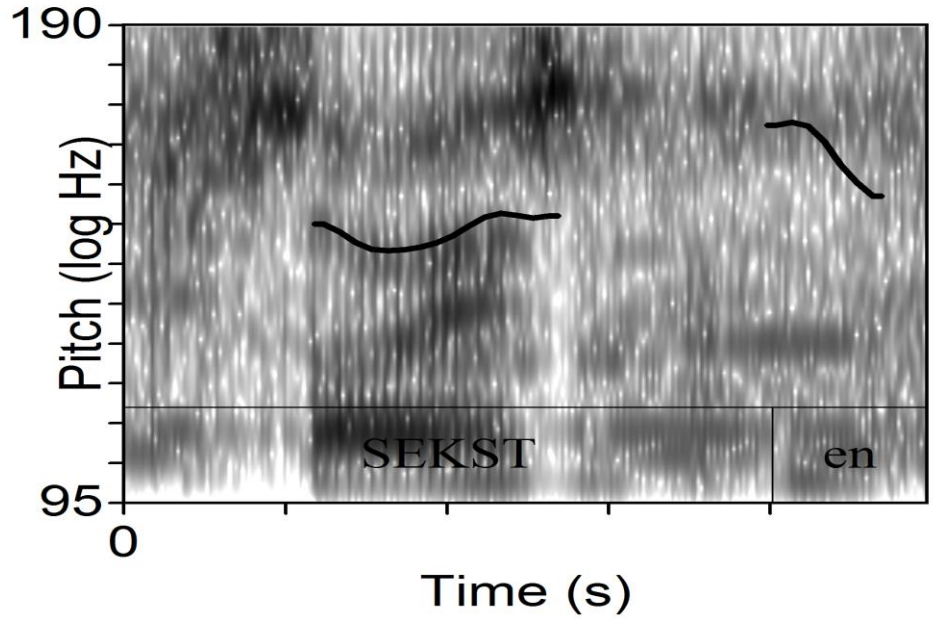

Figure 7.1: Stylised *københavnsk* intonation contour in "seksten".

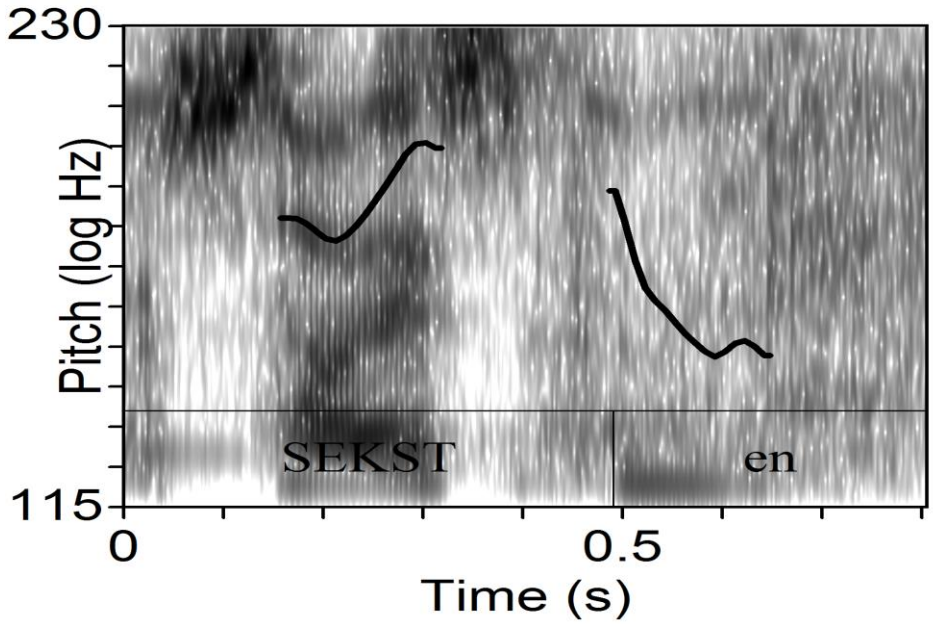

Figure 7.2: Contemporary West Jutlandic intonation contour in "seksten".

In figure 7.1, the onset of the stressed syllable is low with a rise to the following unstressed syllable, which corresponds to descriptions of Copenhagen intonation contours. Figure 7.2, on the other hand, illustrates the reverse high-low contour prototypical of Contemporary West Jutlandic (see Chapter 5). The impact of the Copenhagen intonation in Stylised *københavnsk* is by no means surprising, due to the special status of prosodic features, especially intonation, in Contemporary Standard Danish. Kristiansen, Pharao and Maegaard (2013) unfold this point and show that intonation contours are easily recognisable resources and important means to distinguish geographically different speakers (also Grønnum 2005: 340). They asked listeners in the two major cities in Denmark, Copenhagen and Århus, to identify the geographical origins of six speech samples on the basis of intonational differences. The samples consisted of three voices: Two Copenhagen ones, a Modern and a Conservative, and an Århus voice. Each voice was represented twice, in a modified and a non-modified version. In the modified versions, the Copenhagen voices were given an Århus intonation contour, and the Århus voices were given a Copenhagen intonation contour. The listeners correctly allocated the non-modified voices to either Copenhagen or Århus, whereas they incorrectly allocated the modified voices in terms of origin, but correctly in terms of how they were modified. This result leads the authors to conclude that the identification of voices primarily relies on intonation "as an important – probably the most important – marker of regional difference in contemporary Danish" (Kristiansen et al. 2013: 372). The register formation of Stylised *københavnsk* supports this conclusion.

The Copenhagen intonation may co-occur with complementary features in Stylised *københavnsk*. Some of these have been described as typical of Contemporary Copenhagen (e.g. Brink & Lund 1975, Maegaard 2007), whereas others have not:

Stød: The Danish *stød* ("glottal stop") characterises speech in major parts of Denmark, West Jutland and Copenhagen included (e.g. Ejskjær 1954, Jørgensen & Kristensen 1991). It covers the constriction or complete closure of the vocal cords and prototypically occurs on long, voiced vowels or the following sonorant. In Stylised *københavnsk* two different elements of stød occur:

- *Efterslag* [ˈ]: *Stødefterslag* ("after-tone") occurs in vowels with *stød* in word final positions, most typically before unvoiced consonants. According to Jørgensen & Kristensen (1994) it may be articulated with a closure of the vocal chords. They (1994: 41) define after-tone as

1) the vowel with *stød* has two phases, one before *stød* and one after, which leaves the impression of the vowel as containing two identical vowel sounds. And 2) the phase after *stød* needs to be voiced and to be of some duration. The following example from the data illustrates after-tone: "nej nu er mikrofonen lidt bruˈn" ("oi now the microphone got a little brown"). The utterance is produced with a Copenhagen intonation and with after-tone on the stressed vowel [u] in "bruˈn" ("brown"). The [u] has two phases, before and after *stød*, and the articulation of the second phase is long. A Contemporary West Jutlandic pronunciation of "brun" would comprise of a long vowel with a less strong *stød* and a falling intonation. After-tone is typically associated with both dialectal and regional Sealand (Brink & Lund 1975: 57, Jørgensen & Kristensen 1994: 179), but is not restricted to this geographic area (Jørgensen & Kristensen 1994: 173). In their study of Modern Sealand in Næstved, Jørgensen & Kristensen (1994: 175) found that Copenhagen youth also tended to use after-tone, but less frequently than in Næstved. Moreover, Jørgensen & Kristensen (1994: 173) claim that it exists in Jutlandic speech varieties, but that it is stronger and more frequent in Sealand.

- *Stronger stød* [ʼ]: The adolescents tend to employ a *stød* which comes about as stronger than in Contemporary West Jutlandic. This is exemplified in the following example: "nå men vi skal også ind nu mand vi skal med bus om et kvarterʼ" ("well we have to go in now man we have to catch a bus in fifteen minutes"). It includes several features associated with Stylised *københavnsk*: Intonation, the discourse marker "mand" (see below) and *stød* in the final syllable in "kvarterʼ" ("fifteen minutes"). The syllable terminates abruptly, whereas a long vowel and a falling tone would be expected in Contemporary West Jutlandic. The difference might resemble a *stød* variant that Grønnum (2005: 218) terms "stilistisk forkortelse" ("stylistic shortening"). This refers to the shortening of syllables containing *stød*. This *stød* has not been described as a Copenhagen feature, but Grønnum (ibid.) describes it as habitual in her own (Copenhagen accented) speech. Further, in retrospective discussion of the Copenhagen data, the male Oksbøl adolescent continuously pointed to this *stød* variant as remarkable and bringing about associations of city-likeness.

Discourse markers:

- "ikke"/"ikke også" ("right"): Maegaard (2007: 60) treats this as a Contemporary Copenhagen feature. In Oksbøl, the marker may be produced with the velar sonorant **[**ŋ] or

with a velar stop. The former comes with a rising, Copenhagen intonation (also Brink & Lund 1975: 610), whereas the latter seems restricted to non-stylised contexts.

- The slang expressions "mand" ("man") and "herre meget" ("an awful lot", "really").

Stylised *københavnsk*, then, comprises several prosodic features, with intonation as the key element, and a few lexical items that relate to stance-taking. The linguistic elements that make up Stylised *københavnsk* do not necessarily correspond to linguistic descriptions of Contemporary Copenhagen. As such, Stylised *københavnsk* is a local, cultural model that gains its distinctive characteristics from being developed in a social context in which Copenhagen speech was traditionally absent, but has now become widespread due to macro-structural developments (section 7.1, Blommaert 2010: 81, Rampton et al. 2015). In what follows, we see how the adolescents employ these features in negotiations of appropriate linguistic forms (3.5.1), in rejections of immaturity (3.5.2), in negotiations of peer recognition (3.5.3) and in oppositions to parental and school authorities (3.5.4).

7.4 Situated employments of Stylised *københavnsk*

7.4.1 Stylised *københavnsk* in negative evaluation of linguistic forms

At some occasions, Stylised *københavnsk* was used to negatively evaluate particular linguistic norms. The first two episodes illustrate how this speech style was used to bring about contrasting official and local speech norms. Section 7.2 focused on extract 7.1 as an example of how the adolescents identify Stylised *københavnsk*. There is, however, a lot more to learn from this episode, as Ane´s response to Asta´s playful Copenhagen performance introduces notions of local linguistic codes of conduct. To ease the reading of the following analysis, let us revisit part of the extract:

11	Asta	**og↑ (2.4) >vi har været**	**and↑(2.4) >we have been at my**
12		**omme ved min ↓mo'r↑mor og**	**↓grand↑ma and ↓grand↑pa<**
13		**↓mo'r↑far< og vi har**	**and we have had such**
14		**hygget os så me:get**	**a great time**
15	Ane	**okay din københavner**	**okay you Copenhagener**
16		**altså**	**honestly**
(2.7)			
17	Asta	>HOLD LIGE OP DIN	>KNOCK IT OFF YOU

18		DANMARKER<	DENMARKER<
19	Ane	((ler)) (.) jyllænder	((laughs)) (.) Jutlander
20	Asta	uh jeg-	uh I-
21	Mathias	Oksbølianer	Oksbølian
22	Ane	[oksbølianer nej	[Oksblian no
23	Asta	[og og	[and and

Apart from the linguistic topicalisation of Asta`s commentator role, several aspects of Ane`s response suggest that it is indexically layered (see section 4.2.1). This comes across in several ways: 1) Ane seemingly acknowledges Asta`s playful footing when she ascribes her the social position "din københavner" ("you Copenhagener", line 15). Further, Ane seemingly aligns with the playfulness, because she repeats the Copenhagen intonation. However, 2) Ane frames her reaction as a prototypically negative response to linguistic norm transgression among Jutlanders. Both the Oksbøl male in the retrospective conversation and collegaues of Jutland descent recognised this as a common contextualisation cue to flag a linguistic breach, when a Jutlander is deemed to sound too Copenhagen-like by fellow Jutlanders. The negative evaluation comes across in, firstly, the Copenhagen status ascription to her Jutland sister. Secondly, her use of "din" ("you") and "altså" (something similar to "honestly") turns out as a correction of language norms: "din københavner" in this context is a formulaic "pejorative person descriptor" (Goodwin 1990: 150, 162) which emphasises Asta`s breach. Asta recognises and repeats this negative footing a moment later in her retaliation "DIN DANMARKER" ("YOU DENMARKER", lines 17-18). The adverb "altså" (something similar to "honestly") is an epistemic marker (e.g. Mortensen 2012), which provides Ane´s immediate alignment with an argumentative and contrastive stance (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1046-47). Ane thus utters disaffiliation with the social position "Copenhagener" and projects a critical viewpoint on Asta`s playful performance. Ane´s utterance is thereby indexically layered, because she directly indexes Asta´s linguistic usage as Copenhagen, but, as an indirect tag-along, she indexes Asta`s language use as inappropriate. As result, through her playful response, Ane polices her younger sister`s usage and socialises her into local social meanings of Copenhagen speech.

Asta mirrors the negatively loaded "you Copenhagener" when she provides the delayed retaliation "YOU DENMARKER" in lines 17-18. She uses a constrained voice and alongside the faster speed, this leaves the impression of an angry response to Ane`s categorisation. The retaliation, however,

comes across unsuccessfully and results in another singling out of a linguistic breach, because Ane produces a laugh (line 19) that sounds like a tease, and rekeys the frame with the serious-sounding stressing of "jyllænder". Asta`s "DANMARKER" is a formally incorrect version of "dansker" ("Dane"), while Ane´s "jyllænder" is a non-standard variant of "jyde" ("Jutlander"). When Ane thus imitates Asta`s "Danmarker", Ane thereby produces yet another critique of her linguistic employment, comparable to the one in lines 15-16.

The episode illustrates how using particular speech forms leads to being derogatorily categorised as "Copenhagener". Through the labelling "Copenhagener" and the simultaneous use of a Copenhagen intonation, Ane criticises and negatively evaluates Asta`s linguistic performance. The negotiation of speech norms is likewise the topic of the next episode. Here unmarked Contemporary West Jutlandic is contrasted to linguistic correctness, expressed by a Copenhagen voice. The participants are hiding in a small forest just off school grounds to smoke, and the following extract is part of a longer dispute that spins off when Malene asks if she can have "et bid" ("a bite") of Pernille´s lunch (using a non-standard, neuter determiner). The boys, especially Jonas, react rather strongly to this, and disagreement about the correct grammatical gender arises. Jonas opts for (standard) common gender ("en bid"), because "det lyder bedre" ("it sounds better"). Marie then interferes:

Extract 7.2: "Laid in my bed" (1:52:40-1:53:10)
Participants: Pernille (recording), Malene, Marie, Jonas, Morten, Niels, Torbjørn

01	Marie	men det lyder jo også bedre	well but it also sounds
02		at siger øh: (0.7) at jeg	better to say um: (0.7)
03		har lagt i min seng↓ (0.6)	that I have laid in my
04		men det er jo heller ikke	bed↓ (0.6) but that´s
05		rigtigt vel↓	not correct either is it↓
(3.5)			
06	Torbjørn	**har du lagt et æg** (([g]))	**have you laid an egg**
07		**i din seng måske**	**in your bed huh**
08	Niels	det er sådan noget min mor	my mum she says something
09		hun siger	like that
10	Morten	det er sådan noget som	Solvej she says something
11		Solvej hun siger ((ler))	like that ((laughs))

(0.8)			
12	Torbjørn	**har du lagt æg** (([g]))	**have you laid eggs**
13		**inde i din seng måske↓**	**in your bed huh↓**
14		((ru stemme)) ja det har	((coarse voice)) yes as a
15		jeg faktisk jeg lægger	matter of fact I have I lay
16		guldæg	golden eggs
17	Niels	det gør jeg også (.) jeg	so do I (.) I lay: big:
18		lægger: store: >strudseæg<	>ostrich eggs<
19	Jonas	[((ler))	[((laughs))
20	Niels	[oppe i træerne	[up the trees
21	Jonas	((ler)) der er en lille	((laughs)) it´s a small
22		hjort (([ʌ])) der har lagt	deer which has laid eggs
23		æg (([j])) heroppe ((ler))	up here ((laughs))

In lines 1-5, Marie introduces the well-known and in public discourse often debated grammatical issue (Skafte Jensen forthc.) of the mixing of intransitive ´ligge` (´to lie`) and transitive ´lægge` (´to lay`). The former is a strong verb describing a static position, while the latter is weak and describes the movement of an object. The mixing is part of a century-long process of linguistic change in Denmark in which causative verb pairs have merged (Brink & Lund 1975: 681). In Contemporary Danish, this mixing applies to infinite and present tense, in which ´lægge` is treated as intransitive, especially in Contemporary Jutlandic (Brink et al. 1991: 878-879). Still, according to official, standard written norms intransitive ´lægge` is incorrect. Marie presents two contrasting views: 1) one that favours the incorrect, local form, because it sounds better, and 2) one that favours the standard form, because it is the correct version. Marie frames each view with the epistemic markers "jo", "jo heller ikke" and "vel↓" (similar to "well", "either", "is it"). "jo"/"jo heller ikke" seem to presuppose a shared understanding of the stances, whereas "vel↓", alongside the falling intonation, points to the evidentiality of the grammatical incorrectness of "lagt i min seng". In this sense, Marie points to an established consensus about both local and official speech norms.

Torbjørn now elaborates on these contrasts in subsequent utterances (lines 6-7, 12-13, 14-16). First he flags linguistic expertise and introduces the – among the participants – well-known correction practice presenteded in the question "have you laid an egg in your bed". With the inclusion of the object "an egg", this question emphasises the transitivity of "lægge", and it functions to indirectly

correct the non-standard use of the verb (rather than as a downright rejecting of it as wrong). Niels and Morten treat Torbjørn`s utterance in line 6-7 as the animation of a quote ascribable to locally recognisable adult figures, such as Niels` mother (line 8-9) and the Danish teacher, Solvej (line 10-11). Second, the ascriptions of normative correction practices to adult figures spin off Torbjørn`s playfully performed conversation between a Copenhagen voice (lines 12-13) and an unmarked Jutlandic voice (lines 14-16). The two voices represent stance contrasts: One in which Torbjørn is the animator (Goffman 1981: 144) of a correcting voice, keyed by a coarse, Copenhagen intonation and the epistemic marker "måske↓" ("huh↓", line 13). Similarly to Marie´s "vel↓" (line 5), this marker seems to infer the obviousness of the grammatical error, and alongside the falling intonation it provides the Copenhagen voice with a condescending tone. When Torbjørn reacts to the Copenhagen voice, he keys the response with an intonation corresponding to his habitual one and seems, in contrast to lines 12-13, to be principal (ibid.). He keys his response with the epistemic marker "faktisk" ("as a matter of fact") which introduces a contrastive stance to the Copenhagen correcting practice. He furthers this contrast by claiming to lay golden eggs. This may be interpreted in two ways: 1) The golden egg might refer to the Danish proverb "slagt ikke hønen der lægger guldæg" (literally "don´t kill the goose that lays the golden egg", meaning something like "don´t ruin the source of your income"). If so, Torbjørn flags sophisticated linguistic expertise besides his knowledge of grammatical correctness, but the context, however, does not provide sufficient evidence for such interpretation. 2) Torbjørn plays with the correction practice and the meaning of "egg" and adds an absurd irony in response to a patronising question. Either way, while the Copenhagen, normative voice is that of another, the response seems to represent Torbjørn who takes a social position in sheer opposition. The projection of social distance to the normative correction practice immediately becomes a shared activity, because Niels and Jonas add to the absurdity (lines 17-23). They upkey Torbjørn`s stance when claiming, that Niels lays ostrich eggs and that a deer has laid eggs in top of the trees. Moreover, Jonas exaggerates the length and the lowering of [ʌ] in "hjort" ("deer", line 22) and of the non-standard [j] in "æg" ("eggs", line 23) which brings about associations of a marked Jutland voice. This linguistic upkeying thereby contrasts the Copenhagen voice and furthers the boys` disaffiliation.

In this episode, the boys play with a widely-recognised suppressing correction practice relating to the national mainstream. By means of irony and absurdity they project disaffiliation with normative linguistic practices and adult figures that are in positions to structure and reprimand their social

behaviour (Niels` mother, Solvej). In so doing, they flag an unwillingness to buy into affirming these normative, adult statuses. The Copenhagen intonation is vital in this process, because it keys the normative linguistic practice and adult figures (both Niels`mother and Solvej were Jutlanders, and Solvej occasionally used traditional dialect features in her unmarked speech) in contrast to incorrect, non-standard habitual Jutlandic and the boys themselves. As the Copenhagen voice represents linguistic correctness, it comes to point to Standard Danish norms. This corresponds to findings elsewhere on Standard Danish and correctness (e.g. Madsen 2015a: 123-124).

The two episodes 7.1 and 7.2 demonstrate how the adolescents express approval and support for local speech norms and rejection of other non-local norms represented through Copenhagen intonations. The episodes thereby point to notions of appropriate local language use, and in both extracts, Stylised *københavnsk* is used to negatively evaluate specific language norms. Ane uses it to highlight a linguistic breach of how *not* to speak to keep her younger sister in tune with local, Jutlandic speech norms, whereas the adolescents use it to demonstrate familiarity – and noncompliance – with macro-linguistic downgradings of local, standard deviation in relation to a Copenhagen standardised norm in extract 7.2. Ane´s reaction demonstrates that using a Copenhagen-accented voice might be neither unproblematic nor free of social rebuke, because it juxtaposes appropriate local linguistic behaviour. As such, her negative evaluation suggests that Asta employs linguistic resources enregistered as belonging to a dissimilar – and unwelcome – social domain. This is elaborated on by Torbjørn who not only focuses on a linguistic disassociation with the resources, but also projects social distance to adult and normative social positions. Furthermore, extract 7.2 touches upon a possible connection between Stylised *københavnsk* and Standard Danish speech norms in terms of perceptions of correct language use. Despite the boys projected disagreement with the norm, the connection thereby points to a "justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979: 193) and reproduces a hierarchical structure of Copenhagen-centred speech as more standard and correct than Contemporary West Jutlandic. I return to this aspect in chapter 8.

The two episodes discussed in this section display negative evaluations of Stylised *københavnsk* and of the voices represented by the register. Such negative evaluations are a recurrent element in most episodes in the data (e.g. extract 7.6 below). Another recurrent element is that Stylised *københavnsk* is used in negotiations of social positions. This is the focus in the remaining parts of this chapter.

7.4.2 Stylised *københavnsk* in rejections of immaturity

The adolescents sometimes use Stylised *københavnsk* in negotiations of social status relations – in particular to resist inferiority and immaturity ascriptions. The first episode is from the beginning of a recording of Anders and his family. They have just finished lunch and now play Spoof on who is to do the dishes. In this game, each family member holds up a hand in which s/he hides a number of matches. Each member then takes turns in guessing the total number of hidden matches. In the first turns (1-5) the game is about to begin.

Extract 7.3: Sixteen (01:10-01:30)
Participants: Anders (recording, 15), Lars (brother, 21), Allan (brother, 24), Svend (father), Mine (grandmother), Kurt (grandfather)

01	Lars	så er det Anders (.) start	now it´s Anders (.) start
02			
(1.3)			
03	Mine	ja vi skal lige have	well we need to get our
04		hånden op først	hand ready
(3.0)			
05	Allan	det er Anders` tur ikke	it´s Anders` tur
06		også ((blød stemme))	right ((soft voice))
(1.5)			
07	Anders	˖**jeg siger**↑ (1.5) >**seksten**<	˖**I say**↑ (1.5) >**sixteen**<
08	Mine	>hvad siger du<	>what<
09	Anders	SEKSTEN	SIXTEEN
10	Svend	jeg siger: >femten<	I say: >fifteen<
(3.8)			
11	Kurt	enogtyve	twenty one

The extract illustrates how his elder brothers in lines 1-2 and 4-5 direct Anders to make him open the game. Both brothers employ several means that suggest talking down to Anders: 1) They indirectly address him (lines 1, 5), 2) they tell him what to do in, first, an aggressive manner through the imperative "start" (line 1) and, second, in a less forceful manner through a soft voice and the discourse maker "ikke også" in lines 5-6. Both brothers, then, attempt to frame and control the situation by executing "turn-allocating authority" (Jaspers 2006: 143) in relation to Anders. In

this sense, they violate Anders` territorial "conversational preserve" (Goffman 1971: 40); that is, his self-control of when to talk and act (see also Jaspers 2006), which leaves the impression of ascribing an inferior social position to him.

When Anders (line 7) offers his guess of sixteen matches, he includes a Copenhagen intonation and an exaggerated low onset in "jeg" ("I", line 7). This is incomprehensible to Mine (line 8), and Anders therefore loudly repeats his guess – this time in his habitual Jutlandic intonation (line 9). This eventually spins off the asked-for development of the game in subsequent turns. Thus, on the one hand, Anders complies with his brothers` orders, but on the other he includes Copenhagen resources that add an element of distance to his brothers` prior utterances. His use of Stylised *københavnsk* then seems to project a subtle protest against his brothers` social behaviour.

In the next episode, Ane is on her way to an overnight stay with three friends. They are in a car, and in the extract, Ane gives an account of how she has set the scene for making sure to get a Christmas present from her younger brother – which she normally doesn´t. She has talked him into participating in the annual Christmas present fair at the youth club. This is an event in which the adolescents bring unwanted things that might make suitable presents for others` friends or family members, and they can then exchange these for more desirable presents. The fair does not involve money exchange, and apart from the recycling of things, the idea is to provide adolescents with the possibility of getting hold of items they could not otherwise afford. Ane later explained that the adolescents participating in the fair generally were the youngest users of the club (12-13 year-olds) who were too young to enter the labour market, such as her brother, or users with only little money. Here, Ane describes the event accordingly:

Extract 7.4: Christmas present race (10:33-10:52)

Participants: Ane (recording), Louise, Nete, Tine

01	Unknown	((synger))	((sings))
02	Ane	ej I ved godt der er	hey you do know that
03		sådan noget øh	there is this like um
04		**julegaveræˈs oppe i klubben i**	**Christmas present race at the club**
05		**dag**↑	**today**↑
(1.1)			
06	Nete	okay→ ((høj stemme))	okay→ ((highpitched voice))

07			
08	Ane	så skulle de være der	then they were to stay
09		til klokken ni	until nine o´clock tonight
10		i aften	
11	Nete	nej hvor hyggeligt	uh how pleasant
12	Ane	og så sagde jeg til min	and then I told my
13		lillebror↓ du tager bare	younger brother↓ you will
14		med så jeg får en	go so that I get a
15		julegave af dig i år↓	Christmas present from
16		okay okay↓ nej ((ler))	you this year↓ okay okay↓
17		det gør jeg nemlig	no ((laughs)) I never
18		aldrig ((synger))	you see ((sings))

Ane phrases the event as "sådan noget øh **julegaveræˈs**" ("this like um **Christmas present race**", lines 3-4). She projects a low investment in the event through the inclusions of: 1) the imprecise framing of the event as "sådan noget øh", 2) the description of it as a "ræs" ("race/rush"), which leaves the impression of a competitive and hurried event, and 3) her use of a Copenhagen intonation and the after-tone in "-ræˈs". Nete, in lines 6 and 9, mirrors the low investment. First, she flags this with her high-pitched "okay→" (line 6). Second, to Ane´s description of how the participants are to stay at the club until nine (line 8), Nete provides an exaggerated positive response: "nej hvor hyggeligt" ("uh how pleasant", line 9). This apparent enthusiasm with the somewhat extraordinary possibility of staying late at the club contradicts real-life practices, because the club was in fact open every night from six until ten, and all users were free to come and go. Nete´s response therefore comes out as the projection of sarcastic enthusiasm. As result, the two girls co-construct social disaffiliation with a social activity, which is associated with – and suitable for – Ane´s younger brother, but in which they themselves do not want to participate.

The final episode in this section likewise focuses on disassociation with practices that are associated with childishness, when some of the participants project orientation to the heterosexual market (e.g. Eckert & McConnell-Ginnet 2003). The heterosexual market is a metaphor for a social order in terms of gender separation and socio-constructed differences between boys and girls. Eckert & McConnett-Ginnet (2003) define the market as "a structured system of social evaluation" in which an individual´s social status is evaluated in relation to his/her compliance with gender norms and,

subsequently, attractiveness to the other sex" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginnet 2003: 26). To accept gender norms among the adolescents in Oksbøl included the abolition of social practices or interests associated with childhood and the take-up of practices associated with independence and non-childishness. This meant to have a Facebook profile rather than an Arto profile, to hang out talking in school corridors rather than to play sports during breaks, to work out in the local fitness centre rather than to play football, badminton or table tennis, to have romantic relations with the other sex, to smoke and – as was indicated in extract 7.4 –to be able to buy, rather than to exchange, gifts. Some adolescents and friendship groups seemed to lag behind these social orders. In the group interview, Pernille and Marie evaluate one group of boys as childish and immature due to their behavioural patterns in relation to the dominant activities within the group, football and online gaming. The next episode portrays how Marie, Mikkel and Pernille react, when one of the boys from this particular group, Tobias, addresses Marie to find out more about the whereabouts of a football. When Tobias approaches them, Marie, Mikkel and Pernille discuss sexual experiences, and the extract therefore illustrates a clash between two social activities belonging to very different social domains: Sex indexing non-childishness/maturity and football indexing childhood and play. The extract shows two parallel conversations, one between Tobias and Marie and one between Mikkel and Pernille. The latter conversation soon develops into a subordinate communication (Goffman (1981: 133), a byplay, between Mikkel and Pernille who try to tap into the conversation between the former two, for instance through Pernille`s loud voice qualities.

Extract 7.5: The ball (14:33-15:00)

Participants: Pernille (recording), Marie, Mikkel, Tobias

01	Pernille	((ler)) det er bare godt	((laughs)) that´s just
02		det er bare nederen	great that just sucks
03	Mikkel	[så desperate er jeg sgu=	[well Im not that=
04	Tobias	[hey Marie blev du=	[hey Marie did you=
05	Mikkel	=lige godt ikke	=bloody desperate
06	Tobias	=i går	=stay yesterday
07	Marie	hvad↑	what↑
08	Tobias	blev du i går (.)	did you stay yesterday
09		blev↑=	(.) stay↑=
10	Marie	=ja	=yes
11	Pernille	>nej hvem siger jeg er [det<	>no who says I [am<

12	Marie	[ø:h til klokken lidt i	[u:m
13		et	until almost one
(1.5)			
14	Tobias	så du om der var nogen der	did you see if anyone
15		tog bolden	took the ball
(0.7)			
16	Pernille	**næ: >det kigger vi nok**	**nah: >we don´t care for**
17		**[ikke efter vel↑<**	**[such things do we↑<**
18	Tobias	[den (.) lå	[it (.) was
19	Pernille	>SÅ DU om der var nogen	>did YOU SEE if someone
20		der smed< min te- øh	threw out< my pho- uh
21		[vandglas ud i=	[water glass in the=
22	Tobias	[nej men Anne	[no but Anne
23	Pernille	=skraldespanden i morges	=bins this morning
24		[HVA det=	[HA I=
25	Tobias	[og	[and
26	Pernille	[så jeg nok lige og det=	[did see it and it=
27	Marie	[ja hun stod med den men=	[yes she had it but=
28	Mikkel	[hva så gummi↑	[what´s up rubber↑
29	Pernille	[>var vist lige=	[>was most likely=
30	Marie	[=jeg ved ikke hvad hun	[=I don´t know what she
31		gjorde med den	did to it
32	Pernille	[=dig HVA↑< (.) din	[=you HA↑< (.) you MORON
33		NAR	
34	Mikkel	[hva så hv- hvad så	what´s up wha- what´s
35		gummi	up rubber
36	Marie	men bolden den spillede I	but you played with the
37		selv med herinde men	ball in here but
38		[jeg ved ikke hvad I=	[I don´t know what you=
39	Mikkel	[hva så gummi↓ hva så=	what´s up rubber↓=
40	Marie	=gjorde ved den	=did with it
41	Mikkel	=gummi↓ hva så gummi↓	=what`up rubber↓ what´s
42		((knipser rytmen))	up rubber↓ ((snaps the
43			rhythm with his fingers))

Mikkel and Pernille continue discussing their sexual experiences (lines 1-11). The adolescents often gossiped about Pernille`s sexuality and portrayed her as sexually promiscuous. This was often brought up against her in discussions or arguments, and in lines 3-5, Mikkel states that he, contrary to Pernille, does not make out with everyone. Pernille objects in line 11, but the objection is left unanswered. Having thus been picked on, Pernille now turns to pick on Tobias.

Tobias approaches Marie in lines 4-6, 8-9 and poses two contextualising questions, which refers to Marie`s temporary position as class monitor. This person is normally the last to leave class. In lines 14-15, he then moves on to ask a question that presupposes a possible accusation: That someone not entitled to has taken the ball when everybody – save Marie – had left. As Marie does not instantly answer, Pernille replies "**næ: >det kigger vi nok ikke efter vel↑**" ("**na: >we don´t care for such things do we↑**", lines 16-17). Firstly, Pernille explicates a shared disinterest in Tobias` football among the three. Her inclusion of the epistemic marker "nok" and the hedge "vel" projects how this social position ought to be self-evident. Moreover, Pernille alters her intonation in the final part of her reply, which adds a ridiculing tone to her utterance. Secondly, in lines 19-33, Pernille addresses the accusatory element in Tobias` question (lines 14-15), and expands her ridiculing of him, when she accuses someone to have thrown out her water glass. The context does not point to a palpable addressee, but she builds up a confrontational stance detectable through, for instance, faster and louder voice quality, a direct accusation and name calling in "din NAR" ("you MORON", lines 32-33). Mikkel adds to the ridiculing from line 28 onwards and introduces the teasing element "Gummi" ("rubber"). This refers to the protagonist in the Danish children`s book "Gummi-Tarzan", a weedy boy subject to constant bullying by his peers, who, in contrast to the original Tarzan, has no muscles. Tobias` feature was one of similar physical smallness and immaturity, and the nickname "Gummi" got attached to him, when he wore gummistøvler, wellingtons, to school during the rainy autumn.

In this extract, Pernille and Mikkel teasingly point to appropriate social behaviour in relation to the heterosexual market. Pernille does this, as she answers in a context in which Tobias explicitly allocated Marie the next speaker turn, and mockingly treats his serious request with indifference and ridicule. Her disregard seems to point to Tobias` football practice as an inappropriate age-related behaviour. When Mikkel introduces the teasing "gummi" discourse, he follows up on the

characterisation of Tobias` seeming transgression of appropriate age-related social norms - this time with reference to both his physical appearance and his use of wellingtons.

The three episodes in this section all touch upon aspects of inferiority and immaturity and the expressive projections of distance to such characteristics. Extract 7.3 demonstrated how Anders` elder brothers ascribed him an inferior social position, and how Anders, in response, projected misalignment with this position ascription. In extract 7.4, Ane portrayed her younger brother`s participation in the Christmas present race as a necessary means for him to get her a Christmas present. However, as she and Nete commonly disassociated with the event, this implied that participation was acceptable for a non-affluent, younger sibling, but not for 15 year-old girls. The event was therefore a somewhat childish social practice, and distancing to childish social practices became particularly expressive in extract 7.5. Here, Tobias was not only criticised for not complying with appropriate age-related norms in regard to the social activity of football playing, but also in regard to his child-like physical stature and his inappropriate clothing outfit. In all three episodes, the immature aspects are negatively evaluated, and Stylised *københavnsk* is an important resource in doing so: Anders` employment of the speech style seems to function as a subtle protest to an undesirable social ascription, whereas Ane and Pernille use it as a means to voice distance to activities deemed childish and to Tobias, who impersonates – both socially and physically – this. In these three episodes, then, Stylised *københavnsk* indexes non-immaturity and, especially in extracts 7.4 and 7.5, youth and compliance with youth norms for appropriate behaviour in relation to the heterosexual market. Stylised *københavnsk* is therefore a resource to project a higher social status, both in relation to social practices and to peers. Stylised *københavnsk* as a marked feature of superiority was typical of many examples in the data. In the next section, we see how elements of supremacy become enunciated among the adolescents.

7.4.3 Stylised *københavnsk* in negotiations of peer recognition

In extract 7.3 we saw how Anders` elder brothers assign him an inferior social position. In response, Anders included Stylised *københavnsk* features to protest against this status ascription. The episode therefore touches upon lack of social recognition and the projection of unequal status relations. This is the theme of the following two episodes in which we see how the speech style is used in constructions of status superiority that either highlight lack of recognition (extract 7.6) or that come across as an appeal for social inclusion and approval (extract 7.7). Both episodes come from online

gaming sessions of battlefield games. Gaming is a coordinated task activity in which a "non-linguistic undertaking is central" (Goffman 1981: 141-142), and the long pauses throughout the extracts are characteristic of the gaming data in general. Computer games were immensely popular among some of the boys, and in most recordings of these interactions, each boy sits in his own home and communicates with the others on Skype while gaming. In the first extract, we see two functions of Stylised københavnsk: 1) To reinforce a social position and 2) to project superior social status relation. Anders and Alexander play CounterStrike. They have teamed up against another team and are doing well. This episode occurs after a longer non-verbal sequence of concentrated gaming with audible activity on the computer keyboards. Preceding it, Anders has defeated a player with the game alias "Punk".

Extract 7.6: Punk (22:07-22:46))

Participants: Anders (recording), Alexander

01	Anders	**du ri:nger ba:re**↑	**you just ca:ll**↑
(1.2)			
02	Aleaxnder	>ja< (1.3) later:	>yes< (1.3) *later:*
(0.8)			
03	Anders	Punk (([ʌ])) (3.1) **min**	Punk (3.1) **my friend**
04		**ven han hedder Punk**↓	**his name is Punk**↓
05		(([ɔ])) ((synger))	((sings)) ((whistles))
06		((fløjter)) later: bitchy:	*later: bitchy:*
07		((tilbagetrukket stemme))	((retracted voice))
08	Alexander	lol jeg [er] faktisk=	lol actually I [am]=
09	Anders	[han]	[he]
10	Alexander	=venner med ham der Punk	=friends with that guy Punk
(2.3)			
11	Anders	øh [ham:]	uh [him:]
12	Alexander	[ham] der (.) in game	[that] guy *in game*
13		ik os: ((nasaleret))	ri:ght ((nasal voice))
14	Anders	nå ham→	okay him→
15	Alexander	((ler)) ja ham	((laughs)) yes him
16		((ler))	((laugh))
(4.5)			
17	Anders	**det er nok fordi han er**	**it´s probably because he is**

18		**en punk ikke** (([ŋ]))	**a punk right**
19	Alexander	nej det er han faktisk	no in actual fact he is
20		ikke	not
21	Anders	**det er nok dit crew**	**it´s probably your crew**
22		**ikke** (([ŋ]))	**right**

In the opening lines of the episode, Anders and Alexander underline a winner position by addressing the defeated player with a farewell greeting (lines 1, 2, 6) and an invitation for him to call (line 1) – possibly in case he would want another try. As the greetings and the invitation are pronounced with a Copenhagen intonation (line 1) and American accent features (unaspirated alveolar *d* and rhotic *r* in "later:") and retraction (lines 2, 6), they appear to be marked. As such, they function to both mock the opponent player and to intensify the boys` winner positions.

The superior position making in the first part of the extract is a shared contribution, but Anders punctures Alexander´s part in this in the second part. This spins off when Anders introduces being friends with Punk in lines 3-4. While he singingly makes this claim, he employs an exaggerated falling sentence intonation and pronounces "Punk" twice, with a marked opening of the habitually pronounced [ʌ] in the former and a marked rounding [ɔ] in the latter. These resources point to an ironic and low invested friendship claim, which thereby comes across as a disassociation with Punk. Alexander adds to the disaffiliation in his subsequent turns (lines 8, 10, 12-13 and 15-16). His "lol jeg er faktisk venner med ham der Punk ("lol actually I am friends with that guy Punk", lines 8, 10) seems to suggest that, in contrast to Anders who just pointed out *not* being a friend of Punk, he is familiar with Punk in some context outside online gaming. This interpretation is supported in lines 19-20, when he provides exterior knowledge of Punk. Alexander leaves out a stylised voice, but refers to Punk as "ham der" ("that guy"). He frames the utterance with the disclaimer "lol" ("laughing out loud") and the adverb "faktisk" ("actually"). Here, "faktisk" is significantly different from his "faktisk" in line 19, which points to a known fact about Punk not being a punk, despite his gaming alias. His first "faktisk", in contrast, seems to be more of a "believe-or-not" nature by which he states that, despite what is to be expected, he actually knows Punk personally. As result, his framing of the friend information projects a mirroring of Anders` low invested friend claim. Alexander repeats the disassociation in lines 12-13 and 15-16 with the use of a nasal voice in "in game ik os" ("in game right", lines 12-13), an exaggerated enunciation of "ik os" and laughter (lines

15-16), which, in addition, add a tomfoolery aspect to his utterance. This further underlines the low investment.

Despite Alexander´s projection of a low investment in his friendship with Punk, Anders negatively evaluates both Punk *and* Alexander in his final utterances in the extract. In lines 17-18, he links the game participant called Punk with the wider social category "punk", and when Alexander opposes to this category ascription, he also links Alexander to the category in lines 20-21. Anders describes Alexander`s friendship with Punk as being based on Alexander´s attraction to the "punk" category. In so doing, however, he articulates a continuous disaffiliation. This comes across in several ways: 1) Anders ascribes the "punk" category to both Alexander and Punk while being fully aware that this does not apply to Alexander. The context does not indicate that he holds similar knowledge of Punk, but Alexander`s response in lines 19-20 suggests that he does not. Anders, then, creates a category affiliation of which he either has no knowledge or which he knows is a false. In this way, Anders` inauthentic stance functions as a tease of Alexander, but when he describes him as a member of a punk "crew", he also criticises his choice of a friend. By so coupling Alexander with the losing Punk and an – apparently – unattractive social category, Anders thereby deconstructs the pre-established superior alignment between Alexander and himself. 2) Anders employs a Copenhagen intonation and the discourse marker "ikke" ("right", lines 18, 22), pronounced [eŋ].

In extract 7.7, we see how Martin uses Stylised *københavnsk* in projecting superiority in his attempt to receive positive evaluations on his gaming abilities from Anders and Tobias. In the episode, Anders, Martin and Tobias play League of Legends online. Once again, they have teamed up against another team and communicate via Skype. The episode takes place in a longer sequence in which the boys continuously negotiate competent gamer-positions. These come across through teasing comments addressed at the opponent team players (e.g. Anders in lines 11, 13), through critical comments on each other´s gaming performances (e.g. Martin in lines 5-7), and through positive evaluations of each other´s actions (e.g. "skide godt" ("excellent", line 22)). Throughout the recording, these negotiations often result in rivalry between Martin and Tobias concerning who is the better player. This gets demonstrated in the first lines of the extract, in which they have just discussed who should finish off an ill-fated opponent. As Tobias gets to do the job, Martin comments:

Extract 7.7: If you behave (26:58-27:41)

Participants: Anders (recording), Martin, Tobias

01	Martin	>så tag ham< (.) >så tag	>then get him< (.) >then
02		ham< (.) [så NAK ham	get him<[then DO him<
03	Anders	[I leger med ham	[you play with him
04			
(3.0)			
05	Martin	så skal du også nakke ham	you have to do him
06		ikke:↓ (2.3) oh my God	right↓ (2.3) *oh my God*
07		Tobias↓ (1.5) ↑fail↓	Tobias↓ (1.5) ↑*fail*↓
(5.7)			
08	Tobias	oh my God fede læs	*oh my God* fat ass
09	Martin	ej je- deler altså en pæn	oi I- honestly deal a
10		god damage- ho:vsa	pretty good damage- o:ops
11	Anders	hov han [løb lige vist=	oops he [just ran into a=
12	Martin	[**det gør jeg**	[**I do**
13	Anders	= ind i en øh Nidalee trap	=um Nidalee *trap*
(3.2)			
14	Unknown	hh:	hh:
15	Martin	**xxx hvis du er sø'd** (1.6)	**xxx if you behave** (1.6)
16		((klik med tungen)) **det**	((tongue click))
17		**ved jeg selvfølgelig ikke**	**of course I don´t know if**
18		**om du er** (.) **måske**↑ (0.7)	**you do** (.) **might be**↑
19		((klik med tungen))	((0.7) ((tongue click))
(3.3)			
20	Martin	bare kø- kan du nå at	just go- can you cut one
21		nakke en xxx på (.) skide	down xxx at (.)
22		godt	excellent

Martin produces a serious critique of Tobias` gaming performance. This comes about through, among other things, imperatives ("tag", "NAK" ("get", "DO"), lines 1-2), a correction ("så skal du også nakke ham ikke:↓" ("you have to do him right↓", lines 5-6), falling intonation contours (lines 5-7) and the negative evaluation "↑fail↓" (line 7). Moreover, the response cry (Goffman 1981) "oh my God" adds mockery to the critique, which Tobias retaliates in "oh my God fede læs" ("oh my

God fat ass", line 8). In this way, Martin explicates Tobias` failure to finish off the enemy. He thereby poses a face-threatening complaint, which on the one hand devalues Tobias` gaming skills. On the other, however, the complaint implies that Martin himself is a (more) competent player.

Having thus singled out Tobias` apparent gaming incompetency, Martin now turns to elaborate on his own successful gaming moves (lines 9-10, 12, 15-19). In lines 9-10, he comments on his damage ability. "damage" describes hurting an enemy, and having a high damage gives a player a higher score. Martin adds the epistemic marker "altså" ("honestly", line 9), which seems to invite the other two to express support for this evaluation. As such support is withheld, he repeats the claim in line 12. This time, he upkeys with a Copenhagen intonation, but still receives no reaction. Instead, Anders projects a competent gamer stance (lines 11, 13). He comments on how he just defeated an opponent player who ran into a "Nidalee trap" (line 13). "Nidalee" is Anders` avatar in the game. He initiates with the spill cry "hov" ("oops", line 11). Spill cries are sounds that express the momentary loss of control (Goffman 1981: 101), and in the present context, Anders utters it on behalf of the opponent player.

So, Martin is unsuccessful in receiving confirmation of his successful damage moves. He makes a final attempt with "**xxx hvis du er sø'd** (1.6) **det ved jeg selvfølgelig ikke om du er** (.) **måske**" ("**if you behave** (1.6) **of course I don´t know if you do** (.) **might be**", lines 15-19). Here he alters his strategy to make Anders and Tobias convey positive evaluations: Firstly, he seemingly redirects his attention from Anders and Tobias to a "you" (line 15) – possibly a game enemy. Secondly, he poses a demand "if you behave" (line 15) which dictates a specific social behaviour that, if conceded to, will trigger some kind of reward. From the recording context, it is unclear what behavioural moves Martin asks for, but the demand functions to belittle "you". Thirdly, he employs a Copenhagen intonation and exaggerates *stød* in "sø' d" (meaning "nice"/"sweet", but here translated "behave"). The use of this resource points to a low investment in the gaming relation to the belittled "you". The demand and the marked Copenhagen voice therefore project how Martin disaffiliates with "you", a seemingly less successful player (similar to Anders and Alexander in extract 7.6). Fourthly, he produces self-talk (Goffman 1981): He addresses the absent "you" who is in no position to respond to his demand, and 2) verbalises an internal discussion "of course I don´t know if you do (.) might be" (lines 16-17). Neither of these elements point to a ratified next-speaker, and according to Goffman (1981), self-talk differs from ordinary

conversation because "[f]irst speaker´s utterance does not officially establish a slot which second speaker is under some obligation to fill, for there is no ratified speaker or recipient (…) – merely actor and witness" (Goffman 1981: 97). This may explain why neither Anders nor Tobias react, but, as we saw with Martin´s previous claims, the absence of reactions to Martin`s utterances and game moves was in fact typical of the interaction among the three boys in the extract – and in the recording more generally. However, Anders and Tobias witness his game moves on their computer screens, and so while Martin´s self-talk may not ratify them as next speakers, it may still be meant for them to hear. This means that, even if he talks to an absent "you", he indirectly addresses the two others to confirm his competent gamer stance.

The two episodes illustrate how the boys project superior social stances and distance to other players. In extract 7.6 we saw this when 1) Anders and Alexander display superiority and disaffiliation in relation to a gaming opponent through mocking farewell greetings and low invested friendship claims, and when 2) Anders undermines this shared superiority by teasing and criticising Alexander. The superiority projection is therefore part of showing how Punk and Alexander are less superior in relation to Anders. Thus, the inclusion of Stylised *københavnsk* on the one hand functions as an intensifier of a winner`s position, and on the other as a means to teasingly criticise Alexander. In extract 7.7, on the other hand, we see how Martin unsuccessfully employs different strategies to ascertain a social position as a skillful gamer. When this positive stance-taking is ignored by Anders and Tobias, Martin appeals for approval through, among other things, Stylised *københavnsk*. Firstly, it is a marked attention seeker that intensifies his gaming competence claim, but, secondly, as it occurs in a context of constant lack of affirmation, it also relates to competences in relation to being a recognised part of the interaction with Anders and Tobias. The superior projection is therefore part of showing how he is an equally ratified participant of the gaming activity.

Moreover, the two episodes illustrate the boys projecting superiority in ritually sensitive contexts. In extract 7.6, Anders and Alexander teasingly construct winner positions, and Anders derogatorily comments on Alexander`s friendship, however lowly invested, with a person they just dissed. In extract 3.7, Martin seriously criticises Tobias` gaming competences, while thereafter claiming a gamer competence for himself that remains unapproved by Anders and Tobias. Rituals are social, normative acts that "one individual performs for and to another, attesting to civility, and good will

on the performer`s part and to the recipient`s possession of a small patrimony of sacredness" (Goffman 1971: 63). The aim of rituals is to "affirm and support social relationship between doer and recipient" (ibid.) and thereby to retain face (Goffman 1967), a positive image of self and other. Violations of face and a person´s "sacredness" result in ritually sensitive moments; that is, when the social relationships between interlocutors are momentarily at stake or hampered. In the two episodes we see how the adolescents continuously perform face-threatening behaviour: In the superior self-presentations, the critical evaluations of a friend and in the continuous withholding of responses to Martin`s appeals. In these two episodes, Stylised *københavnsk* indexes superiority, but the inclusion of this marked resource, however, add elements of low invested stances and non-seriousness that mitigate the face-threatening behaviour. Thus, the stylised contexts in these two examples make it possible to perform socially risky acts that might otherwise shake social relations (Rampton 2009): To wrap up a face-threatening critique (extract 7.6) and to save face when one´s gamer competence is ignored (extract 7.7), and, as consequence, to retain social alignment and equality among peers (see also extracts 6.7-6.10 for similar functions of stylised speech practices). In the final episodes we see how one group of adolescents employ Stylised *københavnsk* to emphasise disaffiliation with mainstream norms.

7.4.4 Stylised københavnsk in distance to authoritative norms

In extract 7.2 we saw how Torbjørn flagged expert knowledge of an official and authoritative linguistic norm. However, he framed this expertise in ways that marked significant disaffiliation with Stylised *københavnsk* as a key resource to project his protest against the mainstream norm. Using Stylised *københavnsk* to single out restrictive behavioural norms was characteristic for the participants in extract 7.2 and for Mikkel in extract 7.8 below. For instance, they would use the speech style to point out that school breaks soon ended, and – as consequence – they would have, unwillingly, to return to class, they used it to discuss homework that never got done, or in reactions to reprimands from teachers (see Appendix E). In all instances, the use of the register indexed an unwillingness to adhere to authoritative or teacher-defined tasks and norms, and in the final two episodes in this chapter, we see how this social positioning gets effectuated.

In the first episode, Mikkel uses the register to express unwillingness to obey to a teacher-defined task. The adolescents sit in the school cantina during German class (also extract 6.6). They are supposed to read aloud a German text and discuss it afterwards. The episode takes place at the very

beginning of the recording in which they negotiate who gets to do the reading – the very first step in aligning with the school activity.

Extract 7.8: I bags (00:01-00:15)

Participants: Anne, Kim, Martin, Mikkel, Tobias

01	Anne	helle for ikke at læse	I bags not to read
(0.8)			
02	Kim	helle	I bags
03		[for	[not
04	Mikkel	[**helle** (.)**helle for HERRE**	[**I bags** (.)**I bags for REALLY**
05		[**meget at læse**	[**really wanting to read**
06	Anne	[fri for	[free from
(1.2)			
07	Kim	**aute** [**aute xxx**	**aute** [**aute xxx**
08	Tobias	[nå men Mikkel han	[well Mikkel he
09		læser højt=	reads aloud=
10	Martin	=ja ((ler))	=yes ((laughs))
11	Tobias	Mikkel han læser [højt	Mikkel he reads[aloud
12	Mikkel	[fri for	[free from
13	Kim	[ja	[yes
14		((ler))	((laughs))
15	Anne	[fri for	[free from
16	Mikkel	[ja okay så giv mig den↓=	well okay then give it to
17		((enklise))	me↓= ((enclitic))
18	Kim	=fri buralla vulf=	=free buralla vulf=
19	Mikkel	=så giv mig den↓	=then give it to me↓
20		((enklise, dyb stemme))	((enclitic, deep voice))
(3.0)			
21	Mikkel	swa:g	swa:g

Throughout the extract, the adolescents use and reuse "helle for" ("I bags"). This is a formulaic expression for (dis)claiming participation in an activity – in this case a school activity – often associated with children`s play. Anne starts out by putting forth what seems to be a rather serious claim for not getting to perform the reading activity, but the continuous repetitions of this particular

claim from line 2 onwards introduce a non-serious frame. This gets projected through 1) the inclusion of Mock-German "aute ⌈aute xxx " in line 7, enunciated with a German-like accent, 2) the rephrasing of the claim to "fri for" (lines 6, 12, 15, 18) and 3) the incomprehensible "fri buralla vulf", line 18, in which the first part of the utterance, "fri" ("free"), seems to build on the claim variant "fri for" ("free from"). The continuous claim makings are therefore not serious statements, but playfully performed non-compliances to the reading activity. The playfulness accelerates in lines 4-5, when Mikkel phrases his claim: "**helle** (.) **helle for HERRE meget at læse**" ("**I bags** (.) **I bags for REALLY really wanting to read**"). With this claim, Mikkel firstly voices alignment with the reading activity in a context of projected dispreference and misalignment. Secondly, he projects an exaggerated eagerness to do the reading, through the discourse marker "HERRE meget". Thirdly, this slang expression and the intonation both connote Copenhagen speech. Mikkel thereby demonstrates knowledge of appropriate behaviour in a school context, but his framing of this knowledge projects an ironic compliance with the reading task and an excessive school ambition that is utterly out of line with the ongoing, commonly agreed on, rejection of the activity.

In lines 16-17 and 19-20, Mikkel comes to contrast the Copenhagen voice, after Martin and Tobias have insisted that he does the reading (lines 8-11). When making the claim "helle for", the aim is to call it first: The one who calls it first, goes free, whereas the one calling it last gets to perform the undesirable task. Tobias and Martin seem to adhere to this normative use of the claim, and they thereby ignore Mikkel`s projected inauthentic stance. When Mikkel eventually gives in, he elaborates on the irony. He frames his answer with "ja okay" ("well okay"), which points to an unwilling compliance. The use of enclitics in sentence final positions, a deep voice and an exaggerated sentence-falling intonation further projects this unwillingness and brings about associations of a resistant and non-standard, masculine voice (see also extracts 6.6 and 6.7 for a deep, Jutlandic voice indexing masculinity). Framing his acceptance this way, then, becomes a means to further the noncompliance with the school activity by mitigating his previous claim (see also extracts 6.9 and 6.19) and to only reluctantly apply to norms for how to use "helle for". As result, Mikkel never carries out the reading activity.

In this episode, Mikkel plays with a conventionalised rejection strategy for activity participation. Firstly, he employs linguistic resources to project misalignment with the reading activity, which he

is not the first to reject. In this sense, Mikkel`s utterance lines 4-5 is a playful upscaling of Anne´s initial – and serious – dispreference in line 1. Secondly, he uses linguistic resources to voice two contrasting social positions: A Copenhagen standard voice that indexes a too-eager wish to participate in the school activity and a non-standard, masculine voice that, when being forced to perform the reading task, only reluctantly does so. Both voices respond to behavioural directives concerning doing as you are told and aligning with social norms. The Copenhagen voice reacts to performing a teacher-defined activity, whereas the non-standard one responds to norms concerning how and when to claim "helle for". Both voices, then, flag knowledge of appropriate behaviour, but without conforming to either norm.

In the final episode, Torbjørn employs a Copenhagen pronunciation as part of a meta-comment on a teasing or bullying activity while smoking during lunch break. Smoking on school premises was not allowed, and as result, the participants are hiding in a small forest just off school grounds. Smoking is a key activity in this part of the recording, and several minutes prior to the episode, Niels and Torbjørn have teased Malene by flicking off ashes from their cigarettes down her hair and hood. Malene is unaware of the teasing, and at one point Sebastian therefore laughingly informs her that "de har asket i dit hår" ("they have flicked off ashes in your hair", 1:41:50). Everybody laughs. Malene, too, responds with laughter and adds that "så flamberer mit hår" ("then my hair singes"). Despite this information, Malene does not understand what goes on, and only when Pernille reacts rather strongly to a repetition of the flicking off of ashes, does Malene ask for clairification (she only first finds out what went on, when she and Pernille leave the forest some 15 minutes later, and Pernille thoroughly explains it to her). To ease the reading of the episode, it is treated in two parts. Preceding line 1, Pernille has asked Malene to come stand by her, presumably in order to remove the ashes from her hair and hood.

Extract 7.9: Stop bullying (a), (1:48:19-1:48:44)
Participants: Pernille (recording), Malene, Sebastian, Niels, Jonas, Morten and Torbjørn

01	Pernille	okay jeg skal lige du er	okay I just have you just
02		bare lige nødt til at holde	need to hold hh
03		hh LAD VÆRE MED DET DER (.)	DON´T DO THAT (.)
04		>fucking nar<	>fucking moron<

05		[lad VÆRE	[don`T
06	Jonas	[jeg jeg er sgu da=	[hell I I am=
07	Malene	[hvad fucking	[what the fuck
08	Jonas	=ved at tage det væk↑	=removing↑ it
09	Pernille	prøv lige og her >kom her<	do try and here >come here<
10	Jonas	din [hat	your [hat
11	Malene	[hvad har de taget i	[what have they put in
12		mit hat	my hat
13	Jonas	nej↑	no↑
14	Malene	hvad har de taget i mig	what have they taken in me
(1.1)			
15	Torbjørn	°vi har ikke proppet	°we have stuck nothing in
16		noget i dig ((ler))°	you ((laughs))°
17	Malene	[fuck jer mand	[fuck you man
18	Niels	[xxx	[xxx
19	Jonas	[det=	[it=
20	Pernille	=nej seriøst styr jer med	=no seriously control
21		det der pis der det er	yourselves that´s
22		[fucking vammel	[fucking gross
23	Malene	[hvad hvor hvad gør	[what where what do they
24		[de	[do
25	Torbjørn	[°wallah°	[°wallah°
26	Pernille	[putter aske i din ja	[flick off ashes in your yes
27	Jonas	[putter aske i dit hår	[flick off ashes in your hair

The excerpt begins with Pernille changing footing from a directive addressed at Malene (to make her hold something, presumably a cigarette) to an angry request to Jonas to stop: “LAD VÆRE MED DET der (.) >fucking nar< lad VÆRE” (“DON´T DO THAT (.) >FUKCING MORON< don`T”, lines 1-5). Jonas` response suggests that she has misunderstood his intentions, because he argues that “jeg er sgu da ved at tage det væk↑” (“hell I I am removing↑ it”, lines 6,8). Malene appears to react to Pernille´s rebuking of Jonas as a warning, that something unpleasant or unwanted is happening to her. Her “hvad fucking” (“what the fuck”) signals confusion, and it is the first of four questions to clarify what goes on (lines 7, 11-12, 14 and 23-24). Her use of third person pronouns in her questions directed at Pernille and Jonas indicates that she excludes them from participating in the activity, and throughout this excerpt Jonas and Pernille align with Malene in

several ways. They signal concern for her with "kom her" ("come here", line 9), indicate their intentions to help her remove the ashes (lines 6, 8, 9) and direct her attention towards her hood (line 10). Moreover, Pernille condemns the teasing activity: "=nej seriøst styr jer med det der pis det er [fucking vammel" ("=no seriously control yourselves that´s [fucking gross", lines 20-22). Finally, they are the ones to answer her questions (lines 26-27) and are therefore the ones to acknowledge her need for clarification.

When Malene phrases one of her questions in a slightly odd way: "hvad har de taget i mig" ("what have they taken in me", line 14), she is the target of more teasing from Torbjørn. He laughingly replies that "°vi har ikke proppet noget i dig°" ("°we have stuck nothing in you°", lines 15-16). As such, he does not help her out by telling her, what they did to her, but ignores her projected frustration. And instead, he plays on how she phrased her question and hints at sexual activities ("having stuck nothing in you"), that he at the same time clearly rejects to have engaged in with her. His response seems to include a correction of her use of the verb "take" and together with the laughter and the sexual connotations, it contributes to the ridiculing of her and implies, that her questions and pressing need for clarification are irrelevant.

In extract 7.9b Torbjørn further develops and exaggerates his ironic distance to Malene and his teasing of her, when she tells him off. The extract takes place ten seconds after the previous extract and starts with Malene reacting to something Torbjørn does:

Extract 7.9: Stop bullying (b), (1:48:54-1:49:13)

01	Malene	lad lige være med det der	don´t do that
(1.0)			
02	Torbjørn	ja↑men↓ je- jeg magter	we↑ll↓ I- I **negativity** is
03		det not **negativite**'**t** (.)	beyond my powers (.) okay
04		okay Torkild	Torkild
(1.2)			
05	Torbjørn	**stop mobning** (.) **jeg**	**stop bullying** (.) **I**
06		**støtter Fie Laursen**	**support Fie Laursen**
07	Niels	[°((ler))	[°((laughs))
08	Torbjørn	[**al magt til** (.)	[**all power to** (.)
09		**YouTubebloggere**	**YouTube bloggers**

Malene initially expresses annoyance at something inaudible on the recording, and from his response, Torbjørn reacts as the addressee of her telling-off. His pitch pattern in in "ja↑men↓" ("we↑ll↓") and his selfinterruption in "je-" ("I-", line 2) suggest an initial uncertainty of how to go about Malene`s reaction, but he immediately changes footing and reframes his stance in "jeg magter det not **negativite't**" ("**negativity** is beyond my powers", line 2-3), with an exaggerated *stød* in the final syllable in "**negativite' t**". Torbjørn once again orients to Malene`s portrayed annoyance and not to the underlying reasons for her annoyance, as he recontextualises her question and thereby manages to avoid confronting his own actions (flicking his cigarette at her). It is unclear who and what "okay Torkild" (line 3-4) refers to, but it seems to function as a recognisable catchphrase used as a joking response (which Torbjørn repeats a few minutes later).

Within this frame of non-serious reactions to Malene`s complaint about teasing, Torbjørn now produces a couple of utterances that 1) bring into focus the issue of bullying and thereby comment on the ongoing situation, and 2) are produced with an intonation characteristic of Copenhagen speech. By exclaiming "**stop mobning** (.) **jeg støtter Fie Laursen**" ("**stop bullying** (.) **I support Fie Laursen**", lines 5-6), Torbjørn introduces a bullying discourse by referring to Fie Laursen. She was a 15-year old YouTube blogger who was harrassed on social media, and, as a result, went public on prime-time television. Here, her main issue was a need for intensified public and political focus on fighting bully-activities, and Torbjørn`s utterances reminisce political slogans supportive of these efforts. This practice is continued in lines 8-9, where he employs another catchphrase playing on the Fie Laursen case: "**al magt til** (.) **YouTubebloggere**" ("**all power to** (.) **YouTube bloggers**"). Torbjørn simultaneously positions himself as seemingly being against bullying and supportive of Fie Laursen, but he also articulates the boys` actions directed at Malene as bullying (rather than as playful teasing). He thereby positions Malene as a bullying victim comparable to Fie Laursen. Several aspects of Torbjørn`s utterances suggest that he is strategically inauthentic, and that his contributions are stylised and double voiced. Firstly, he voices concordance with a normative practice – against bullying – that contradicts his physical actions prior to the episode. Secondly, the ambiguity of his utterances is supported by his use of Stylised *københavnsk*. His exclamation, then, is not a genuine statement, but instead, it functions to further ridicule Malene.

Torbjørn has repeatedly been told to stop flicking his cigarette at Malene, most significantly by Pernille and to a lesser degree by Malene. When he finally terminates his bullying activity, he closes with a meta-comment on his actions. Here, he flags knowledge of a normative and authoritative social practice, which strongly denounces bullying. However, he voices the practice with an ironic distance in relation to Malene, and he employs Stylised *københavnsk* in this voicing. Alongside the contradiction between physical verbal actions Stylised *københavnsk* becomes a means to project noncompliance with the non-bullying norm.

Extracts 7.2, 7.8 and 7.9 circulate explicit knowledge of behavioural normativity and appropriateness. In extracts 7.2 and 7.9, Torbjørn explicates recognition of normative behaviour in relation to speech norms associated with parents and teachers (extract 7.2) and of macro-structural anti-bullying behaviour (extract 7.9). Mikkel, likewise, in extract 7.8, reveals familiarity with assumptions for appropriate behaviour in school contexts (that is, to align with teacher-defined instructions) and norms of employing formulaic expressions. The boys thereby portray how one ought to submit to authoritative norms. However, they at the same time project strategic inauthenticity, with Copenhagen features being key elements. This transforms the apparent submissions, and instead the boys monitor their own noncompliance with the authoritative norms. Thus, their use of Stylised *københavnsk* marks a rejection of authoritative norms and restrictions, and in this sense, Stylised *københavnsk* come to index opposition to mainstream norms; that is, anti-authoritative and nonconformist social stances.

7.4.4.1 Stylised *københavnsk* as social distinction among peers

The indexical valence of Stylised *københavnsk* as opposition to adult and school authority was emblematic of some of the boys and girls within the year group. This use of the speech style resembled some of their other social practices, and taken together these social practices and resources clustered in "a network of associations" (Eckert 1989: 70) that marked a specific category affiliation within the local, social landscape. On the one hand, the adolescents associated with it employed the practices to position within the social community, but on the other, their peers positioned and valued them in relation to these practices. Those associated with the category would sometimes label the boys and the girls within the group as "tough guys" and as "hardcore trunter" ("hardcore roly-polys"), and would generally refer to them as "cool" and "tough". The social category was highly visible within the year group, and in interview discussions of local, social

groupings, descriptions of this category and those associated with it always came up. Generally, adolescents who did not fall within the category seemed to orient – not towards – but around it and would voice strong disaffiliation. Due to substantial negative evaluations, the adolescents who formed the category were referred to as "Bad-gruppen" ("the Bad group"). Some of them were famous for being violent and sexually promiscuous, and rumour had it that some of the boys were involved in petty crimes. It was a mixed-gender group, including the participants in extracts 7.2 and 7.9, Mikkel, Emilie, Rose and a few elder boys and girls who had already left Blåvandshuk Skole.

While carrying out fieldwork in both school and youth club contexts, I soon noticed several patterns of practices that marked category affiliation. Firstly, the group was easily distinguishable due to a pretty uniform fashion consisting of black Royal tracksuit trousers and hooded sweatshirts. The boys wore caps, and the girls bleached their hair and wore heavy make-up (e.g. extract 6.7). Secondly, they would often project hostility to school activities (as we saw with Mikkel in extract 7.8), they often flouted school rules and cut classes, and several had had fractured school careers in and out of several schools. Moreover, they would often sneak out of school premises to smoke during lunch breaks (as in extract 7.2 and 7.9), and some of them were so school tired that they needed to take time off and instead have periods of work experience during the school year. Others did not attend the school activities on a fulltime basis, but attended remedial school for some subjects. So, the adolescents associated with the Bad category stood out because of their lack of participation in the regular school system, but also because of their general reluctance to participate in teacher- or curricula-defined activities.

Most of them frequented the youth club on an almost nightly basis, but they rarely participated in club activities or ventured inside the club. Instead, they hung out under a shed roof – the only place smoking was allowed at the club. The shed was just outside a window from which the club workers standing behind a sweets counter inside the club could overlook part of the outside area. On my first night at the club, a club worker explained how the smokers had been specifically assigned this particular spot, because that was a good place to keep an eye on the "troublemaking" smokers of whom many had "difficulties with authoritative figures". When at the club, I always spent significant amounts of time under the shed roof. As a female fieldworker, it could be challenging getting contact with boys. At the club, most boys would engage in highly stigmatised gender-specific activities: Computer gaming and football, and as a female getting access – and being

accepted as a ratified participant in these activities – was sometimes difficult (see section 3.3). Smoking, on the other hand, was not gender-related, and I found it very easy to blend in, despite not smoking, and contribute to activities and discussions among this group.

While under the shed roof, there circulated four recurrent topics of conversation. These by and large corresponded to observations and conversations that I came across elsewhere with the Bad group. A very significant symbolic practice of the Bad category was smoking cigarettes, sharing them and coming together for having a smoke, and smoking was a dominant topic under the shed roof. The adolescents would discuss smoking habits and how to get hold of cigarettes without parents finding out, and very often they would discuss its negative side-effects and emphasise their attempts to stop. Mostly, however, they discussed how to hide their smoking habits from their parents and how to get rid of the smell. The smoking practice was an especially pivotal issue in the split between the Bad group and the other adolescents who continuously expressed their dislike and disgust of this "stinky" and "unhealthy" practice. At one point, one of the adults working in the club asked me, if I thought the presence of these smoking adolescents would inspire others to take up smoking. I felt confident responding "no", as my impression was that smoking – outside the Bad group – was considered an uncool practice associated with a negatively evaluated and stigmatised group. Another topic was binge drinking in parks and at parties. The adolescents would spend much time retelling stories from parties or drinking gatherings during the weekends, often emphasising blackouts, funny incidents, how to hide their drinking activities and being drunk from their parents, or demonstrate a risky drinking game. A third topic was discussions and narratives of sexual experiences and partners, as demonstrated in extract 7.5. For many of their peers, for whom being sexually active was a future experience, this particular social practice was at the same time intriguing and repulsive, and it was the target of much gossip. The fourth topic dealt with rejections of parents and authorities executing control and restriction, and the drinking and smoking topics was often embedded in such discussions. The adolescents often mockingly described – and expressed annoyance with – parents, teachers and other authorities who would try to make them stop smoking, ground them or force them to participate in school-related activities. Stories circulated, especially about the elder boys, on how they managed to trick authorities when turning up drunk or stoned at school or escaping the police on tuned-up mopeds.

The indexical meaning of the Stylised *københavnsk* in extracts 7.2, 7.8 and 7.9 therefore correspond to dominant social practices characteristic of the Bad category. Moreover, this category share several similarities with Eckert`s (1989, 2000) Burnouts in her accounts of style and language variation among Jocks and Burnouts in American high schools in the 1980s. For instance, the importance of smoking as a means to promote and maintain social relationships, the shunning of school activities and the rejection of parent and teacher authority. Eckert shows how the Burnouts` use of linguistic features "can reflect rejection of mainstream society and identification with the local non-mainstream community" (1989: 67), similarly to the Bad group`s use of Stylised københavnsk. To understand how social practices are embedded with social meaning and to encapsulate language variation as stylistic practice (Bucholtz 1999, 2011, Eckert 2000, 2008, Maegaard 2007, Moore 2010, Quist 2012), the concept of "community of practice" (Wenger 1998, Madsen 2015a) has proven a useful framework. In a community of practice, people come together to perform social practices in orderly and meaningful ways. Participation develops from three practice dimensions: 1) A mutual engagement in a 2) jointly negotiated entreprise in which the participants develop a 3) shared repertoire (e.g. recognisable resources such as clothing, narratives, discourses and language use). All the practices described above illustrate how the adolescents within the Bad category similarly made up a small community of practice within the larger social community among the adolescents. They were mutually engaged in sneaking off school grounds to smoke (extracts 7.2 and 7.9) or to spend the better of an evening under the shed roof at the club, and they jointly negotiated opposition to parental and school authorities through, among other things, the development of a shared repertoire that included uniform dressing outfits, repeated retellings of specific narratives and discourses and a very particular way of using Stylised *københavnsk*. Thus, while many adolescents employ Stylised *københavnsk* to (re)circulate indexical stereotypes, the indexical valence of Stylised *københavnsk* in rejections of authoritative norms is a symbolic, stylistic resource that manifests social group distinctions among a smaller group of adolescents within the larger social cohort.

7.5 Stylised *københavnsk* as an indexical field

To summarise this chapter, firstly, we have seen how the adolescents reanalyse and revalorise features associated with Copenhagen speech as a distinct social register, which – for acts of clarity – I label Stylised *københavnsk*. This register encompasses i) local perceptions of what constitutes Copenhagen speech in terms of linguistic forms, especially a Copenhagen intonation, ii) local

norms of how such forms can appropriately be used in situated encounters – that is; as strategically inauthentic contributions, and iii) social meanings that tag alone the marked employment of the register. So, what we see in this chapter is how (local perceptions of) marked Copenhagen speech becomes enregistered as a meaningfully local semiotic resource. As mentioned in the opening of this chapter, the data did not provide sufficient evidence for any regular employments of an unmarked Copenhagen intonation – at least not as this was observable to me. This possibly implies that 1st order unmarked and non-stylised Copenhagen speech (meaning intonation) is an unavailable social resource for the adolescents, and that an unauthorised use of Copenhagen speech is somehow at odds with local speech norms. Ane demonstrates this point in extract 7.1 when she polices Asta`s playful performance of a Copenhagen commentator voice. When the adolescents therefore transform (their perceptions of) Copenhagen features into a stylised, local register that operates at n+1st order indexical levels, these convert into an accessible social resource up for graps for the adolescents and free of social rebuke. What this chapter displays, then, is a snapshot of the enregisterment of a register as this takes place in a particular socio-geographical context (in contrast to other socio-geographical contexts, e.g. in Copenhagen, see section 7.1 above), and not, as we saw it with the intergenerational differences between non-stylised and stylised dialect use in chapter 6, of particular age groups. However, while the local enregisterment of Stylised *københavnsk* points out macro-societal distinctions between the local, fragmented version of Copenhagen speech (see also Hill 2005 on Mock Spanish, Meek 2006 on Hollywood Injun English and Rampton 2006 on Deutsch in Inner-London) and Contemporary Copenhagen speech in Copenhagen, it also functions as an indexical and internal distinguisher within the cohort of adolescents. As part of its semiotic value is indexical of social practices distinctive of a smaller group of adolescents, the Bad group, it therefore also gains micro-societal significance. What we see is thus how linguistic resources, which "historically come to distinguish geographical dialect (…) take on interactional meanings based on local ideology" (Eckert 2008: 462) that reflects local opposition and distinctiveness.

Secondly, we see that Stylised *københavnsk* is incorporated

- When the adolescents discuss and reinforce notions of what counts as appropriate language use and with language norms (extracts 7.1 and 7.2).
- When they reject inferior status ascriptions (extract 7.3).
- When they project and disaffiliate with social practices associated with immaturity (extracts 7.4 and 7.5).

- When they distance to gaming incompetence and project superiority in relation to other players (extracts 7.6 and 7.7).
- When they deal with lack of social peer recognition (extract 7.7).
- When they dismiss school activities (extract 7.8).
- When they denounce adult authorities and mainstream normativity (extracts 7.2, 7.8 and 7.9).

Whereas Stylised *vestjysk* indexes one characterological figure, the indexical field of the Stylised *københavnsk* employments is less expressive of one iconic persona. Rather, when the adolescents employ Stylised *københavnsk*, they flag their fleeting expressions of stance and social positing-making (see section 4.4), but they project such footings in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. One reason for this complexity lies in the indexical layering of the stylised Copenhagen performances (e.g. Ochs 1990). On the one hand, all nine episodes illustrate how Stylised *københavnsk* is a means to project negative evaluations of an inappropriate social activity

- In relation to Copenhagen language use (extract 7.1) and perceptions of linguistic correctness (extract 7.2).
- When the adolescents eagerly show off, e.g. in a school context (extract 7.8, see also extract 4.1).
- When they are subscribed an inferior social position (extract 7.3).
- When they engage in or refer to childlike or immature social practices, such as playing football or being unable to afford buying Christmas presents (extracts 7.4 and 7.5)
- When they project affiliation with an undesirable social category, e.g. a punk (extract 7.6).
- When they subdue to adult rules and authoritative norms (extracts 7.2, 7.8 and 7.9).

On the face of it, then, Stylised *københavnsk* directly indexes undesirable and negatively evaluated social positions (e.g. Copenhagenness, showing off, academic ambition, being a punk, linguistic correctness, appliance with authoritative norms) with which the adolescents misalign. Thus, Copenhagen and everything associated with it is seemingly not something to admire, to strive for or to acquire. This may explain the adolescents` motivations to overtly disaffiliate with Copenhagen and Copenhagen speech in descriptions on local linguistic practices and in some of their outlinings of plans for the future in interviews (e.g. extracts 3.8 and 5.1, see also chapter 7). On the other hand, however, Stylised *københavnsk* employments occur in contexts in which the adolescents

- Try to steer free of inferiority ascriptions (extract 7.3).
- Misalign with immaturity (extracts 7.4 and 7.5).
- Misalign with incompetence (extracts 7.6 and 7.7).
- Misalign with adult rules and adult authority (extracts 7.2, 7.8 and 7.9).

Thus, the adolescents employ Stylised *københavnsk* when they flag i) being neither inferior/immature – childlike – nor adults, ii) being competent and skilful, and iii) being cool. Indirectly, then, Stylised *københavnsk* indexes youth, independence and autonomy/rebelliousness, dynamism, skilfulness and competence, superiority and cool self-assuredness. These indexical values therefore point to Stylised *københavnsk* as a prestigious high status resource. This status seems to apply equally to episodes of vari- and uni-directionality double-voicing (Bakhtin 1984): In extract 7.7 Martin makes several unsuccessful attempts to elicit positive evaluations from Anders and Tobias, when he addresses a losing enemy in the computer game. As he struggles for peer recognition, the distance between his animated Copenhagen voice and his authored voice seems to diminish and merge (see also Jaspers 2011), when he tries to obtain a social status position as a skilful gamer. His double voicing therefore comes about as uni-directional (this seems also to apply to Anders in extract 7.3 and Pernille in 7.5), and his Copenhagen speech style works as a means to obtain (higher) social status. In contrast, the disaffiliation between Mikkel`s strategically inauthentic Copenhagen voice and his own in extract 7.8 is oppositional. While he uses the stylised voice to project academic ambition in relation to a detestable school task, he also uses this voice to project rebelliousness and noncompliance with adult rules. Thus, while Stylised *københavnsk* directly indexes a negative social characteristic, it indirectly indexes positive personality traits. In turn, these indirect positive social value ascriptions to local perceptions of Copenhagen speech may explain why the adolescents incorporate Copenhagen-based Standard Danish variants in non-stylised speech (chapter 5). However, as these linguistic variants do not seem to connote Copenhagen speech for the adolescents, one might speculate, if these variants more than anything indicate contemporality, dynamism and prestige, void of any Copenhagen aspirations. This is, though, another story.

Chapter 8: Social alignment in large-scale structures

This project took as its aim to explore

1) How youngsters in West Jutland use linguistic features to construct their social worlds under globalised conditions.
2) How and why they employ locally stigmatised features associated with *vestjysk* and Copenhagen speech. This covers the two first research questions: 1) How do the adolescents use Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk*, when, with whom, for what purpose? And 2) what indexical social meanings do they ascribe to the two registers through this use?
3) How do the indexical value ascriptions to these features add on to and mirror current macro-structural processes? This covers the third and the fourth research questions: 3) What norms and ideologies are (re)produced through these indexicalities? 4) And how do these local ideologies reflect and inform of larger ideological notions of social processes and structures? That is, how and in what ways do these correspond to macro-structural ideologies of the rural and the urban, respectively.

In this chapter, I summarise and discuss these points in turn, but I start out by discussing the impact of the methodological and theoretical standpoints on the data and the results in this project (section 8.1). I then move on to comparing Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk*. Section 8.2 discusses how the indexical fields associated with the two registers inform of larger processes of language change. Section 8.3 focuses on the indexical valences of the two registers, and what stands out is they occupy contrastive positions in a high/low dimension documented in studies of language attitudes (e.g. Kristiansen 2009). Section 8.4 discusses how the use of Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* enables the adolescents to position as young and contemporary modern youth. Section 8.5 argues that such positioning and the high/low indexical value ascriptions display and reproduce large-scale structures of power between central and peripheral Denmark and established discourses about the rural. Finally, section 8.6 outlines how the study of Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* contributes to ongoing issues in contemporary sociolinguistics.

8.1 Theoretical and methodological implications

The starting point for this project was that a 21st century analysis of linguistic practices among rural youth requires new methods and conceptualisation of what language is and how it functions. Language use in Danish rural contexts has often been treated as sets of denotational forms void of social functions and ideology. This means that traditional studies of classical dialects and dialect loss never go past a descriptive representation of the diminishing numeric proportions, whereas dialects are reduced to something in decline and as a yesteryear phenomenon with no contemporary relevance. This project set out to tell a different story about a Danish, traditional dialect, *vestjysk*. That is; to compose this story in ways which underlines different aspects of current conditions of Danish dialect and which treats it as a contemporary sociolinguistic resource among youth. This story, unsurprisingly, still turns out as a story of decline and loss, but it highlights how this process is immersed with ideological assumptions that are exploited in everyday interaction. Subsequently, the dialect is not just in decline, it is also in use. To tell this story does not require the development of new analytical and theoretical frameworks, because the epistemological and methodological equipment to do so already exists. We just have to look in a direction considered oppositional and contradictory to the rural – we need to look to the city and urban sociolinguistics. Such an approach allows us to see the urban-rural dichotomy in a different light: The rural and the urban are not just oppositional and different. They are also similar and closely linked. When the adolescents display business-as-usual hybrid and poly-lingual social practices in extracts 2.1 and 2.2, and when they reflexively comment on and reanimate indexical stereotypes in situated language use, their social practices underscore this point. However, self-evident as this may seem, contemporary sociolinguistics continue to treat urban language use and rural language use differently, as recently addressed by Britain (forthc.), among others. This research project has taken the total linguistic fact as the analytical guiding principle, and by underlining and demonstrating the three-dimensionality of rural linguistic practices, the Oksbøl adolescents are relocated from a remote and somewhat flat, one-dimensional position of reproducing linguistic structures to becoming apt, creative and skilful practitioners in and contributors to the construction of contemporary late-modernity.

In this project, I have taken a holistic approach enveloped in Linguistic Ethnography. I combine quantitative and qualitative approaches that are building blocks to the issues and arguments that I pursue:

a) Chapter 4 describes the theoretical foundation of how different registers position speakers and social practices in different indexical orders, depending on the processes of enregisterment informing these registers. Stylised registers, such as Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* operate at n+1st orders, and I defined stylisation as an ideological site (section 4.3), an instance in which ideological perceptions pop up and are reflexively commented on in situated interaction. However, in the ideological construction of the marked and stylised to be exploited interactionally inherently lies the ideological construction of the unmarked and non-stylised, that is; the routine and mundane. I therefore included quantitative analyses of ten variables among nine adolescents to underline how Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* break with unmarked social practices, Contemporary West Jutlandic.

b) Quantitative analyses are stepping-stones to carry out interactional microanalysis in chapter 6, which juxtaposes an apparent-time study alongside micro-analyses of situated language use. The chapter demonstrates how *vestjysk* takes radically different forms, characteristics and social functions among elder and younger generations, and that these differences point to the existence of two distinctive dialect registers, *vestjysk* and Stylised *vestjysk.* This, however, is only possible through the combination of the approaches: The apparent-time study outlines intergenerational changes in dialect use as an unmarked system, whereas the micro-analyses show how dialect use is now a marked social practice.

c) Danish dialects are commonly treated as one end of the dialect-standard continuum, which not only displays dialect loss but also the spreading of Copenhagen-based Standard Danish. Chapter 5 documents an overwhelming presence of Copenhagen-based Standard Dialect features in Contemporary West Jutlandic, but chapter 7 illustrates that Copenhagen features, predominantly intonational features, are not only spreading, they also take on a life of their own within the local community.

Consequently, this project adds to the explanation of why Copenhagen-based Standard Danish spreads.

8.2 Styling old and new

When looking across chapters 6 and 7, we see that the socio-ideological scopes of the indexical fields of the two registers come out rather differently. A distinctive characteristic between Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* is that the former is a young version of a register gone out of use as a 1st order indexical, whereas the latter reminisce a register, which, so the quantitative analyses in chapter 5, and Danish sociolinguistics in general (e.g. Juel Jensen & Maegaard 2012, Kristensen 2009), informs us, is on the move and gains new territory. A key differentiation between the two registers is therefore one between old and new ways of speaking. This project demonstrates how this may affect the range of the indexical fields of the two registers, and what speakers can do with them in terms of social positioning and alignment.

Stylised *vestjysk* covers a relatively narrow indexical field. We have seen how its indexical social values are standardised and limited, so that it can neatly be summarised in one low-status and non-prestigious characterological figure. This limitation of social meaning potentials corresponds to the way in which the individual linguistic features comprising the register have been reduced and stigmatised to a small, lexicalised number of features. What we see, then, is the narrow keying (see Hill 2005 for this process in the case of *mañana*) of linguistic forms and social meaning potentials associated with these forms: They represent a very small snippet of the world and very restricted ways of being. With the erasure of all other narratives about and social positions accessible through West Jutlandic dialect, the story of this dialect among the adolescents is an extreme case of iconisation. The indexical field of Stylised *københavnsk* has, in contrast, a wider social scope and a larger range of social meaning potentials to be evoked in interaction. While most episodes in chapter 7 display high social status and prestigious values ascriptions to Stylised *københavnsk*, the means to do so is less narrow and delineated. The indexical values are ideologically linked, but when combined, not one standardised social persona emerges or stands out. This, again, may reflect how Copenhagen speech operates in Danish society at large. It is not equally stigmatised, neither in terms of its quantitative distribution nor in its indexical valence, and its linguistic features are spreading. This adds on to Britain (forthc.) who argues that perceptions about the urban are "more contested, and not dominated by one particular way of seeing" (Britain forthc.), because it stands as a dynamic "cultural melting pot" (Britain forthc.) of social diversity. Ideologically, then, the urban may therefore be more difficult to pin down and demarcate. Accordingly, the way the adolescents use the two stylised registers and the social values that they ascribe to them are informative of the

sociolinguistic centralisation of Copenhagen-based Standard Danish on the one hand and of the sociolinguistic peripheralisation of traditional dialects on the other (section 5.1).

8.3 Styling high and low

But what forms do the indexical fields take, and what are the indexical valences ascribed to the two stylised registers? To summarise chapters 6 and 7:

Stylised *vestjysk* indexes

- A characterological figure expressive of social positions relating to masculinity, rurality, academic and social incompetence, unattractiveness and incivility.

Stylised *københavnsk*, in contrast, indexes

- Fleeting expressions of stance in relation to independence, academic competence, coolness, superiority and rebelliousness

The indexical distinctiveness of the two registers is particularly pronounced in episodes that include both registers, as in extracts 4.1 and 6.6. For simplicity´s sake, let us revisit this episode in its entirety:

Extract 8.1: The tablecloth (7:22-7:31)
Participants: Ane (recording), Mathias (brother), Asta (sister), Ditte (mother), Ulla (aunt), Kaj (grandfather), Agnes (grandmother)

01	Kaj	du skal lade være med det	you shouldn´t do
02		der	that
03	Ane	ja	yes
(1.1)			
04	Kaj	hvor skal du så tørre œ	then where are you going to
05		fingre [i	wipe the [fingers
06	Asta	[åh:hh ↑nu kan jeg	[uh:hh ↑now I
07		[simpelthen ikke=	simply can´t manage=
08	Ane	[ikke en skid	[damn all
09	Asta	=have mere↓ ((luftfuldt,	=another bite↓ ((airy,

10		lys stemme))	high-pitched voice))
(0.6)			
11	Ane	**kan du** [**simplethen**=	**you** [**simply**=
12	Asta	[jeg kan simpelt-	[I simply can-
13	Ane	=**ikke det er** [**altså** (([a]))=	=**can`t that´s** [**honestly**=
14	Asta	[nanananananana↓	[nanananananana↓
15	Ane	=**for søvren da**	=**jolly well**
16	Kaj	[nej nu i œ dug vi skal	[no now in the tablecloth
17		tørre i œ dug (([duç]))	we must wipe in the tablecloth
18	Ane	ja >ba:re tør i dugen< det	yes just wi:pe in the
19		tror jeg heller ikke mor	tablecloth I don´t think mum
20		vil bryde sig om da ((ler))	would like that ((laughs))
(0.7)			
21	Ane	hørte du hvad han sagde mor	mum did you hear what he
22		((ler))	said ((laughs))
(0.8)			
23	Ditte	nej jeg sys- jeg syntes jeg	no I thou- I thought I heard
24		kunne høre bare lidt↑ han	just a little↑ he but then
25		men så tænker jeg	I think
26		[det kan ikke passe	[it cannot be
27	Ane	[<**skal vi så bare tørre**	[<**are we then just to wipe**
28		**œ hœnder af** [**i**> **œ dug**	**our hands** [**in**> **the tablecloth**
29		(([duç], dyb, ru stemme))	((deep, coarse voice))
30	Asta	[er det godt	[is it good
31	Ulla	nej det er dejligt	no it´s great
32	Agnes	[((ler)) det var det ikke	[((laughs)) it was not

The analyses of the episode (see introduction in chapter 4 and section 6.4.2) show that when Ane reacts to Asta´s declaration that she can`t have another bite (lines 6-7, 9-10), her use of a Copenhagen voice (lines 11, 13, 15) ascribes refinement and formality to Asta`s stance. This is in stark contrast to her reaction to her grandfather`s suggestion that they just wipe their hands in the tablecloth (lines 17-18). Here, Ane´s employment of a dialect voice projects such activity as a (masculine) breach of good manners, as incivility and crude behaviour. What Ane puts into motion,

then, is the ideological juxtaposition of Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* in terms of refinement/good manners versus primitivism/bad manners.

That registers can occupy contrastive ideological positions and acquire their distinctive characteristics through such oppositional positionings have been reported elsewhere (e.g. Coupland 2001, Madsen 2013, Rampton 2006, Snell 2015). The summary and the extract underscore how Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* operate in a bipolar value system: Dialect is downgraded, whereas Copenhagen speech is awarded prestige. Such status ascriptions are recurrently reported on in Danish language attitude studies (e.g. Kristiansen 2003, 2009, 2015). These seek to discern subjective processes behind language variation and change and focus on the ideological mechanisms as driving forces (Kristiansen 2015: 114, Kristiansen et al. 2013). They scrutinise subconscious language attitudes relating to three speech forms: Two standard forms (Modern and Conservative Copenhagen speech, see chapter 5) and local speech forms. These are elicited through indirect questioning based on verbal guise techniques. Here, different speaker voices represent different ways of speaking. Informants are asked to evaluate manipulated speaker voices according to positive and negative personality traits, falling in two identity traits, a superiority trait (intelligent-stupid, conscientious-happy-go-lucky, goal-directed-dull and trustworthy-untrustworthy) and a dynamism trait (self-assured-uncertain, fascinating-boring, cool-uncool, nice-repulsive). The studies (e.g. Maegaard 2005, see Kristiansen et al. 2013 for a detailed summery of the results of the studies, also Pedersen 1986) show that Danes all over Denmark replicate the same evaluative patterns of high and low: The local speech forms score low on both identity traits, much as what we saw in chapter 6: Traditional, local dialect is devaluated when it comes to superiority traits. It indexes low social status, academic incompetence, stupidity and lack of authority. As it indexes crude behaviour, incivility and bodily deformity, it similarly scores low on dynamism traits. The Modern and Conservative speech forms, on the other hand, come out on top, with modern most positively evaluated on dynamism traits, and conservative "does just as well or even better on ´superiority traits`" (Kristiansen 2015: 94). Chapter 7 does not reveal a marked distinction between Modern and Conservative Copenhagen speech forms among the Oksbøl adolescents. Rather, it points out how the adolescents use Stylised *københavnsk* to project academic skills, refinement, gaming competence and superior social positions. It therefore indexes superiority traits. Moreover, as it indexes coolness, rebelliousness and independence, it also indexes dynamism. As result, Stylised *vestjysk* marks low social status, whereas Stylised *københavnsk* signals high

social status. But how do the adolescents gain access to these indexicalities and what are the social impacts of the exploitations of these indexicalities when the adolescents voice them in social alignment and position-making?

8.4 The young and dynamic West Jutlanders

Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* inform of ideological perceptions of ´us` versus ´them` and ´here` versus ´there` (e.g. Eckert 2008: 462) and of appropriate/inappropriate and accessible/unaccessible speech practices (e.g. extract 1.1). Neither Stylised *vestjysk* nor Stylised *københavnsk* are accessible and useful unmarked resources among the adolescents, and in this section, I discuss how the adolescents deploy and rework the two registers in ways, which allow their associated indexicalities to provide ways to reconcile being young and late-modern West Jutlanders. That is; how the re-enactment of the associated ideologies enables the adolescents to take particular positions within a wider social economy.

The use of Stylised *vestjysk* enables the adolescents to position themselves as young West Jutlanders and to flag geographical origin. Stylised *vestjysk* is a young version of traditional West Jutlandic dialect situated in time and space. *Vestjysk* has gone out of use among adolescents and is associated with elder speakers (e.g. extract 6.1) and low social status. Dialect usage is therefore incompatible with being young, dynamic and contemporary. When the adolescents present their version of the local dialect, Stylised *vestjysk*, they therefore relocate it as a young, marked version operating at n+1st indexical orders. So, on the one hand, Stylised *vestjysk* informs of the local social status of the local dialect – it no longer functions as a 1st order indexical. On the other, it characterises a young and modern West Jutlandic version of ways of being in the world associated with past practices. When the adolescents employ this register, they flag experience with particular ways of being and specialised knowledge of linguistic forms. This grounds them locally in West Jutland. Here, one might argue that adolescents situated elsewhere in Denmark, in Copenhagen for example, might project similar linguistic knowledge and experience of Jutlandic speech forms. However, in her study of heteroglossia and social categorisations among Copenhagen youth, Madsen (2014) finds that stylisations of dialect forms are almost absent from young Copenhageners` speech. In fact, there are only three examples of broad stylised Jutlandic speech in 31 hours of audio recording. This suggests that specialised knowledge of different varieties of Jutlandic speech practices may not be a much-used or particularly valuable social resource among

young Copenhageners, and that Jutlandic speech is not, as is the contrary case with Copenhagen speech in Oksbøl, a particularly salient social resource. This implies that Copenhagen and Copenhagen speech is of more importance in West Jutland than is Jutland and Jutlandic speech forms in Copenhagen. This informs of, and reinforces, the unequal power relation between the two.

However, as stylisations project strategically inauthentic social stances, stylised dialect employments enable the adolescents to reject and leave behind parts of the social-meaning ascriptions of the register associated with their rural place of origin. So, whereas they might be West Jutlanders, their projections of strategically inauthentic social stances describe their disaffiliations with unintelligence, bodily and behavioural repulsiveness, misbehaviour, socially inferiority and old-fashionedness. In this process, the adolescents cast part of their social backgrounds as significantly other, implying a rejection of ideologised notions the rural and rural ways of being. In chapter 3, we saw how the adolescents narrate this position in interview descriptions of the local area and through their plans for the future. These descriptions were in concert with established ideologies about rural Denmark and demonstrated high degrees of orientation away from the local area and, hence, high degrees of mental mobility. The disaffiliation with ideological perceptions of local practices in chapter 6 is another means to detect such mental mobility, because – as they leave behind low-status local practices – they orient away from the area, pick up and affiliate with social characteristics of high prestige articulated elsewhere. Chapter 7 shows how Stylised *københavnsk* is indexical of such high status.

Gaining access to this resource, however, is no straightforward matter. Ideologically, Copenhagen speech as an unmarked, 1st order indexicality is not directly accessible to Jutlanders. In extracts 7.1, we saw how Ane policed Asta` use of Copenhagen features in her playful performance of a commentator role. Whereas this may merely be an instance of language socialisation among siblings, Ane´s practice was repeatedly recognised as a well-known and dominant ideological perspective on language norms in Jutland in later stages of the analytical process of this episode. It therefore points out that Copenhagen speech is not a free-for-all social resource, and extract 7.1 explicitly tells us that Jutlanders, who use Copenhagen speech, may fall subject to social rebuke or social ridicule, as projected in extract 7.2. Moreover, Copenhagen speech is repeatedly projected as directly indexical of social stances at odds with social norms (e.g. a preference for local norms) and appropriate social behaviour (e.g. as indexical of showing off in extracts 5.1 and 7.8). Copenhagen

speech is thus, similarly to West Jutlandic dialect, significantly other. Thus, when the adolescents reanimate direct indexicalities about Copenhagen speech and Copenhagen speakers, they reproduce how Copenhagen speech is an inaccessible social resource. They restrict, so to speak, their own actions and which linguistic resources to use through these reproductions. As we have seen, Copenhagen features are indirectly indexical of high social status, superiority and dynamism. But when Copenhagen features are not accessible social resources, the Oksbøl youth have no direct access to such social value ascriptions. Yet, when they (re)enregister individual features associated with Copenhagen speech, they transform the ideological and indexical values of the features and, consequently, rework the register to their own ends. This has two implications:

a) In this process, the Copenhagen speech register becomes an open social resource, which the adolescents can access without being socially rebuked or socially stigmatised as trying to be smart. – But only because the enregisterment of the linguistic features flag high degrees of strategic inauthenticity. In that sense, when the adolescents rework Copenhagen features into Stylised *københavnsk*, this involves an element of crossing (Rampton 1995), the use of sociolinguistic resources which ideologically belong to other groups of speakers, and which a speaker is not (ideologically) entitled or allowed to used. By employing Stylised *københavnsk* features, then, the adolescents are able to access the high status indexical stereotypes associated with this register in a socially acceptable way.
b) This further means that when the adolescents transform inaccessible – or socially risky – Copenhagen features into a stylised register, they can work on the social stereotypes in two ways: On the one hand, they can reject and emphasise disassociation with negative stereotypes directly indexical of this register, e.g. being Copenhageners, showing off, being too smart and too school ambitious. On the other hand, however, the strategically inauthenticity of the register allows them to turn its high-status aspirations into useful and viable social resources in social alignment and position-making. Consequently, when they transform Copenhagen features into stylised resources, the high-status social stereotypes associated with Copenhagen speech are suddenly within reach, so that they can be exploited in taking positions as young, dynamic and modern members of society.

To encapsulate: When the adolescents put into motion the two stylised registers, their use of the particular indexical value ascriptions enable them to position as young, competent, dynamic and contemporary West Jutlanders. When they do so, they reproduce macro-societal power structures.

8.5 The reproduction of structures of power

Denmark, as mentioned in the opening of this thesis, is a nation presumed to break in half with an affluent, dymanic and powerful centre in the Copenhagen area, and a poor, desolate and disempowered peripheral and rural part. Several voices in the public debate, e.g. Dybvad 2015, underline how current established ideologies about rural and urban Denmark are part of the acceleration and intensification of this unequal power relation. Chapter 3 outlined how the adolescents know and reproduce established ideologies about rural and urban Denmark in their descriptions of Oksbøl as a bleak, futureless place. For instance, all but two boys reported on wanting to go to somewhere bigger and more urbanised, and when Søren went against this peer group norm, he was met with laughter and peers exchanging looks. Leaving Oksbøl, then, seems hardly a deliberate choice. Staying is. What we see in this project is that when the adolescents plan their future trajectories elsewhere, they, in this process, leave other things behind: Chapters 5 and 6 inform us how they abandon local language practices. In chapter 5, I referred to this process as a sociolinguistic centralisation of Copenhagen-based Standard Danish and a sociolinguistic peripheralisation of local dialects. Further, chapter 6, as already mentioned in section 8.4, informs us how they leave behind particular social practices and disaffiliate with particular low status social stereotypes ideologically associated with the rural. Chapter 3 demonstrates that, instead, they look towards urban areas (Esbjerg, Varde, Copenhagen, London), and chapter 7 illustrates how Copenhagen and the local representation of Copenhagen speech, Stylised *københavnsk*, are indexical of high prestige.

In chapter 3, I outlined why I would not describe Oksbøl as a "periphery". The main reason was that during fieldwork and when going through 95 hours of audio recordings, this label was never explicitly put into use by the Oksbøl youth, their parents or staff at Samulesgården and Blåvandshuk Skole. However, when the adolescents (re)produce Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* as indexical of high and low social status, respectively, they indirectly and reflexively comment on the unequal power structure encapsulated by the spatial metaphor of urban centralisation and rural peripheralisation. On the one hand, the adoelscents contest the hegemonic status of Copenhagen and Copenhagen speech. This is evident in extract 7.1. in which Ane polices Asta´s use of Copenhagen speech and so socialises her into local speech norms. Similarly, Torbjørn, in extract 7.2, voices preference for local speech forms, when he narrates personal experiences with the educational system and links Stylised *københavnsk* to the educational system and adult

authority. However, the overall picture is one in which the adolescents reproduce dominant ideologies which devalue and other the rural. For instance, Rose and Katrine use it to voice – and put distance to – their unsuccessful attempt to solve a maths question in extract 6.4. Likewise, Kristian includes it to voice his inability to finalise a Sudoku and thereby as a means to mitigate his conflict with Bjørn in extract 6.10. Stylised *vestjysk* thus indexes powerless and unsuccessful social positions. Stylised *københavnsk*, on the other hand, indexes success and power. We see this, for instance, when Anders uses a Copenhagen intonation to project a winner position, and when Pernille and Torbjørn use it to mock Tobias and Malene. So, when Ane in extract 3.3 claims that dominant, negative structures and ideologies about "Udkantsdanmark" are imposed on places like Oksbøl by institutions and people (e.g. Copenhageners) without personal knowledge and therefore not knowing any better, this is only part of the story. What this project demonstrates is that those with first-hand experience of rural life, and therefore those who know better, reproduce such ideologies and reiterate substantial alienation.

Consequently, the indexical juxtapositions correspond well with dominant discourses of power and success in Denmark. These repeat that social practices associated with the rural are worth very little in comparison to prestigious urban pratices. Stylised *københavnsk* therefore becomes an indicator of success, for instance, in relation to academic competence (e.g. extract 7.8 in contrast to extracts 6.3 and 6.4). The adolescents are repeatedly told that in order to be successful members of society, they need specific educational levels. As the Danish (academic) education system centres in urban areas such as Copenhagen, Århus and Odense, this means that the Oksbøl youth will have to leave the rural area, because the urban and urban social practices, e.g. as embodied in urban educational institutions, become "requisite[s] for social advancement" (Agha 2007: 191). And in this process, Copenhagen speech, as the linguistic representative of the cultural, educational, political and economic centre, is the ideological icon of success.

This leaves us with several questions for further analysis: How else can West Jutlandic adolescents position as young, dynamic and successful members of society without dismissing parts of their rural origins? And is this in fact possible to do so without reproducing dominant discourses about "Udkantsdanmark" in order to fight off being socially stigmatised as inadequate for contemporary modern society? And what are the future impacts of such local reproductions of dominant discourses on small communities such as Oksbøl?

8.6 Final remarks

This project contributes to several ongoing discussions in contemporary sociolinguistics:

a) It provides empirical testimony to the social significance of the pre-defined categories used for evaluation in verbal guise tests, and it adds to the explanation of why Copenhagen-based Standard Danish spreads at the expense of local speech practices. It illustrates how adolescents communicate ideological perceptions of good/bad, appropriate/inappropriate, correct/incorrect and prestigious/non-prestigious linguistic practices in mundane, situated social encounters. What stands out from the analyses is that while both Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk* are subjects of disaffiliation and stigmatisation, this sticks more to Stylised *vestjysk*. A plausible reason for this is that it is a near-extinct resource and, as such, not of much contemporary use. Dialect loss, then, becomes a process biting its own tail, because the insignificant numeric proportions and the indexical values accelerate and spiral its decline. As a marker of superiority, dynamism and success, Stylised *københavnsk*, in contrast, is less easy to dismiss.

b) It adds to our knowledge of what happens to dialects in their final stages before extinction. It displays how the ideological perceptions and the indexical valences of a dialect survives and stays strong as the speech practice shrinks in numeric proportions. But it also foregrounds that despite its diminishing position, the study of dialects inform of larger societal processes. We may therefore still learn a lot from the study of dialects on the verge of extinction. We just need to go beyond our traditional, quantitative approaches.

c) It positions within a research field focusing on the interplay and unequal power relations between urban and rural – central and peripheral – social contexts. It focuses on a group of speakers, young rural adolescents, not often given voice in public debates, and it illustrates how they deal with processes of centralisation and peripheralisation. Studies focussing on the periphery often work within the frame of Linguistic Landscaping (e.g. Busch) or with semiotic resources on the internet (e.g. Sultana et al. 2013), or they employ a somewhat more "hit-and-run" kind of ethnography (e.g. Pietikäinen 2013 who made eight visits to her Sámi fieldsite over the course of several years). In contrast, this project builds on six months of extensive fieldwork, and it takes a Linguistic Ethnography perspective, that highlights a micro-analytical approach to the everyday enactment of social practices in order to detect

how processes of centralisation and peripheralisation are constructed in situated language use.

d) It adds to our knowledge of how stigmatised groups of speakers treat and deal with stigmatised discourses. In a Danish context, recent studies (e.g. Møller 2011) demonstrate how Copenhagen adolescents with minority backgrounds handle negative discourses of ethnicity. The present project illustrates how majority speakers can be equally subject to stigmatisation – not in ethnic terms, but in terms of geographical origin. Thus, what is at stake is territorial stigmatisation and majority Danes not being central enough to urban areas. A future study may shed light on how Danes with minority and majority backgrounds fall subject to similar processes of stigmatisation.

e) Finally, this project bridges a gap between urban and rural sociolinguistics. It focuses on a rural context and, among other things, on West Jutlandic dialect – a speech form associated with rurality, but it includes methodological and theoretical approaches developed (and predominantly used) in studies of urban sociolinguistics. This project underscores that the distinction between urban and rural sociolinguistics is ideological, and that there is no reason for upholding this distinction.

English abstract

This ethnographic project discerns how rural adolescents living in West Jutland, Denmark, carry out their daily lives under globalised conditions and how they (re)activate, align with and discard ideological perceptions of rural and urban Denmark. By investigating stylisations of Copenhagen speech, Stylised *københavnsk*, and of traditional, local dialect forms, Stylised *vestjysk*, it demonstrates how the adolescents exploit and create social meaning potentials indexed by the two stylised registers in social alignment, and how they reflexively comment on, put on display and take position within larger social structures of unequal power structures through such employment.

This project includes both quantitative and qualitative analyses and builds on methodological and theoretical standpoints developed in sociolinguistic studies of contact situations in urban contexts and takes the Total Linguistic fact as a guiding principle. In the Danish context, sociolinguistic studies focusing on rural and urban settings build on distinctive research traditions: Language use in rural contexts are often approached as denotational systems void of interactional functions and ideologies, whereas language use in urban contexts are looked up on as social practices immersed with ideology and interactional significance. One aim of this project is to illustrate that when employing such frameworks in the study of linguistic practices among rural youth, these adolescents no longer represent proportional language systems, only, but are prominent actors in and contributors to the construction of contemporary, modern life.

This adds on to another aim of this project concerning the need for new approaches to the study of Danish dialects. These are traditionally treated as one numeric component operationalised in a Standard Danish-dialect speech continuum. As most Danish dialects are on the verge of extinct, such variationist approach no longer sufficiently captures contemporary dialect use. This project demonstrates that dialect practices among elder and younger speakers point to the co-existence of two distinctive dialect registers: An unmarked dialect register associated with elder generations and a marked dialect register, Stylised *vestjysk*, employed by younger generations. Microanalyses of Stylised *vestjysk* illustrate how an approach focusing on dialect features as a total linguistic fact enables us to see dialect as a contemporary phenomenon indexing low social status.

The quantitative study in this project reports on a substantial amount of Copenhagen-based Standard Danish in the adolescents` unmarked speech performances, Contemporary West Jutlandic. The adolescents do not identify these as Copenhagen speech and project disaffiliation with Copenhagen speech in interviews. Yet, they often employ a marked Copenhagen intonation, Stylised *københavnsk* in everyday interactions. This project therefore scrutinises the indexical valences of this feature, and through microanalyses of marked Copenhagen speech, we see that it indexes high social status.

In interviews, the adolescents repeatedly describe Oksbøl as a dull, bleak and futureless place, whereas they ascribe prestige to urban Denmark, meaning Copenhagen – much in line with dominant political and public discourses. The adolescents did not explicitly discuss power relations between urban and rural Denmark in their everyday social encounters, but when they employ Stylised *vestjysk* and Stylised *københavnsk*, they reflexively comment on and put on display this power structure. We see that while they at times contest and reject this structure, the overall picture is one reproducing urban Denmark as a powerful and prestigious centre, whereas rural Denmark is disempowered and undesirable.

Dansk abstrakt

Denne etnografiske undersøgelse ser på, hvordan livet tager sig ud for unge vestjyder i en lille provinsby under globaliserede vilkår, og hvordan de (re)producerer, forholder sig til og afviser ideologiske forestillinger, der knytter sig til henholdsvis land og by. Med udgangspunkt i stiliserede fremstillinger af københavnsk, kaldet Stylised *københavnsk*, og af lokale dialektformer, kaldet Stylised *vestjysk*, viser undersøgelsen, hvordan de unge konstruerer og udforsker de to registres social betydningspotentialer, og hvordan de bruger dem til refleksivt at kommentere på, udstille og positionere sig i forhold til større samfundsmæssige magt- og ulighedsstrukturer.

Undersøgelsen består af både kvantitative og kvalitative sprogbrugsstudier og bygger på en metodisk og teoretisk ramme, som er udviklet på baggrund af sociolingvistiske studier af sproglige kontaktsituationer in urbane sammenhænge. I Danmark har der været tradition for at teoretisere og undersøge sprogbrug i henholdsvis land og by på meget forskellige måder: Sprogbrug på landet behandles ofte som afgrænsede og tællelige systemer uden interaktionelle funktioner eller ideologisk tilknytning, mens sprogbrug i byen ses som sproglige praksisser, der udtrykker ideologi og social function. Et af undersøgelsens formål er at understrege, at når man har en lignende tilgang til sprogbrug på landet, går unge sprogbrugere på landet fra kun at repræsentere tællelige sprogsystemer til at være vigtige aktører i konstruktionen af det senmoderne samfund.

Denne pointe hænger sammen med et andet undersøgelsesformål: Nødvendigheden af nye forskningstilgange i undersøgelser af dialektbrug. Dialekter er traditionelt blevet behandlet som en tællelig del af et kontinuum mellem dialekt og standarddansk. Da de fleste danske dialekter er under kraftige afvikling, er kvantitative tilgange ikke længere holdbar, fordi de ikke formår at indfange de få, tilbageværende dialektforekomster. Undersøgelsen indeholder et apparent-time studie, som viser, at ældre dialekttalende og unge standardtalende bruger to forskellige dialektregistre: Et umarkeret register blandt de ældre og et markeret register, Stylised *vestjysk*, blandt de unge. Mikroanalyser af Stylised *vestjysk* demonstrerer, at når vi behandler dialekttræk som total linguistic facts, viser de sig som nutidige resurser, der indekserer lav social status.

Undersøgelsens kvantitative undersøgelse viser, at københavnske træk er del af de unges umarkerede sprogbrug, kaldet Contemporary West Jutlandic. De unge forbinder dog ikke disse træk med københavnsk, som de distancerer sig fra i interviews, men bruger ofte en markeret københavnsk intonation, Stylised *københavnsk*, i deres hverdagsinteraktioner. Undersøgelsen ser derfor også på dette registers indeksikalske valens. Mikroanalyser af stiliseret københavnsk peger på, at registret indekserer høj social status.

De unge beskriver Oksbøl som et kedeligt sted uden fremtid i interviews, mens de tilskriver det urbane Danmark, dvs. København, prestige. Dette er i overensstemmelse med dominerende offentlige og politiske diskurser. De unge diskuterede ikke eksplicit magtforhold mellem land og by i Danmark i deres hverdag, men når de bruger Stylised *københavnsk* og Stylised *vestjysk*, kommenterer de på og udstiller dette magtforhold. Vi ser, at selvom de indimellem opponerer mod og afviser denne struktur, så reproducerer de overvejende det urbane Danmark som magt- og prestigefuldt, mens det rurale Danmark står tilbage som uønsket.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Chapter 5: Coding analyses of ten variables

OR

Ulrik	
[o]	**[ʌ]**
Gjorde	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Historie	Tror
8 (50%)	**8 (50%)**
Total 16	

Anders	
[o]	**[ʌ]**
Tror	Tror
Gjorde	Tror
Tror	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
3 (25%)	**9 (75%)**
Total 12	

Alexander	
[o]	**[ʌ]**
Lort	Tror
Tror	Lort
Tror	Tror
Tror	Gjorde
	Tror
	Tror

	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
4 (30%)	**9 (70%)**
Total 13	

Louise	
[o]	**[ʌ]**
Skjorte	Tror
Lorte	Tror
Sort	Tror
Tror	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Gjort
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
4 (22,2%)	**14 (77,8%)**
Total 18	

Ane	
[o]	**[ʌ]**
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Gjort	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
10 (50%)	**10 (50%)**
Total 20	

Clara	
[o]	**[ʌ]**

Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	
Tror	
Sladderhistorier	
Gjort	
Tror	
Tror	
Tror	
Tror	
Tror	
Tror	
Fjorten	
14 (82%)	**3 (18%)**
Total 17	

Pernille	
[o]	**[ʌ]**
Gjorde	Tror
Tror	Tror
Gjort	Tror
Tror	Tror
Tror	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
5 (25%)	**15 (75%)**
Total 20	

Marie	
[o]	**[ʌ]**
Tror	Tror
Gjorde	Tror
Tror	Tror

	Gjorde
3 (42,8%)	**4 (57,2%)**
Total 7	

SÅDAN

	[sɔːn]	**[sʌdn̩]**	**[sʌnn̩]**	**TOTAL**
Ulrik	2		12	14
Percentage	**14,29**		**85,71**	
Anders	3		17	20
Percentage	**15**		**85**	
Alexander	10	1	4	15
Percentage	**66,66**	**6,66**	**26,66**	
Louise	6		14	20
Percentage	**30**		**70**	
Ane	4	1	15	20
Percentage	**20**	**5**	**75**	
Clara	1		19	20
Percentage	**5**		**95**	
Pernille		1	17	18
Percentage		**5,56**	**94,44**	
Marie	6		14	20
Percentage	**30**		**70**	

EDE

Ulrik	
[əð]	**[ət]/[əd]**
Lignede	
(Total 1)	

Anders	
[əð]	**[ət]/[əd]**
Kastede	Spillede
Startede	Spillede
Rage quittede	
Cyklede	
Kiggede	
Wastede	
6 (75%)	**2 (25%)**
Total 8	

Alexander	
[əð]	**[ət]/[əd]**
Kiggede	
Troede	
Væltede	
Flækkede	
Wastede	
Wastede	
6 (100%)	
Total 6	

Louise	
[əð]	**[ət]/[əd]**
Startede	
Startede	
Snakkede	
Boede	
Snakkede	
Startede	
Total 6 (100%)	

Ane	
[əð]	**[ət]/[əd]**
Lavede	
Passede	
Passede	
Passede	
Startede	
Startede	
Startede	
Startede	
Snakkede	
Startede	
Prøvede	
Kiggede	
Flyttede	
Troede	
Total 14 (100%)	

Clara	
[əð]	**[ət]/[əd]**
Startede	

Lavede	
(Total 2)	

Pernille	
[əð]	**[ət]/[əd]**
Snakkede	
Startede	
Lavede	
Prøvede	
Cyklede	
Ryddede	
Total 6 (100%)	

Marie	
[əð]	**[ət]/[əd]**
Troede	
Snakkede	
Startede	
Hyggede	
Håbede	
Total 5 (100%)	

Tine	
[əð]	**[ət]/[əd]**
Truede	
(Total 1)	

EN

Ulrik		
[ən]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
Blevet	Vundet	Gået
Vundet	Været	Taget
Vundet	Været	Været
Blevet		Været
4 (36,36%)	**3 (27,27%)**	**4 (36,36%)**
Total 11		

Anders		
[ən]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Været	
	Været	
(Total 2)		

Alexander		
[ən]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
Vundet		Gået
		Været
		Været
		Været
1 (20%)		**4 (80%)**
Total 5		

Louise		
[ən]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Fundet	Drukket
		Fundet
		Fundet
		Fundet
		Været
	1 (16,7%)	**5 (83,3%)**
Total 6		

Ane		
[ən]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
		Blevet
		Drukket
		Fundet
		Fundet
		Fundet
		Fundet
		Fundet
		Fundet
		Gået
		Gået
		Gået
		Kommet
		Kommet
		Kommet

		Røget
		Stjålet
		Taget
		Været
		Været
		19
Total 19		100%

Clara		
[ən]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Fundet	Blevet
	Kommet	Blevet
		Blevet
		Blevet
		Gået
		Været
		Været
		Været
		Været
		Været
		Været
		Været
		Været
	2 (13%)	**13 (87%)**
Total 15		

Pernille		
[ən]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
Blevet		Drukket
Kommet		Skrevet
		Gået
		Gået
		Gået
		Gået
		Kommet
		Skrevet
		Stået
		Taget
		Været
		Været
2 (14,3%)		**12 (85,7%)**
Total 14		

Marie		
[ən]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
Blevet	Opfundet	Gået
		Kommet
		Røget
		Røgen
		Været
1 (14,28%)	**1 (14,28%)**	**5 (71,42%)**
Total 7		

Tine		
[ən]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
		Været
		Blevet
(Total 2)		

ET: LAVET

Ulrik	
[ət]/[əd]	**[əð]**
Andet	Arbejdet
	Fået
	Fået
1	**3**
(Total 4)	

Anders	
[ət]/[əd]	**[əð]**
Andet	Slettet
	Lavet
	Fået
	Startet
	Fået
	snakket
	Andet
1 (12,5%)	**7 (87,5%)**
Total 8	

Alexander	
[ət]/[əd]	**[əð]**
Tåget	Stoppet
Andet	Fået
2	**2**

(Total 4)	

Louise	
[ət]/[əd]	**[əð]**
	Fået
	Andet
	Eget
	Snakket
	Eget
Total 5	**5**

Ane	
[ət]/[əd]	**[əð]**
	Prøvet
	Lavet
	Lavet
	Lavet
	Fået
	Fået
	Indblandet
	Andet
	Andet
	Andet
	Andet
	Andet
	Fristet
	Afslappet
	Smadret
	Kikset
	Håbet
	flyttet
	Boet
	Boet
Total 20 (100%)	

Clara	
[ət]/[əd]	**[əð]**
Tosset	Trukket
	Kigget
	Kigget
	Oplevet
	Lokket
	Fået
1 (14,2%)	**6 (85,7%)**
Total 7	

Pernille	

[ət]/[əd]	**[əð]**
Andet	Andet
Andet	Blandet
	Kigget
	Lavet
	Lavet
	Fået
	Fået
	Samlet
	Inviteret
	Lavet
	Slettet
	Truet
2 (14,3%)	**12 (85,7%)**
Total 14	

Marie	
[ət]/[əd]	**[əð]**
Vænnet	Andet
	Stoppet
	Overvejet
	Lavet
	Inviteret
1 (14,2%)	**6 (85,7%)ss**
Total 7	

Tine	
[ət]/[əd]	**[əð]**
Vænnet	Malet
	Inviteret
1	**2**
(Total 3)	

ET: HUSET

Ulrik		
[æ]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Terrænet	
	Spillet	
	Spillet	
	Spillet	
	Spillet	
	Spillet	
	Vandet	
Total	**7 (100%)**	

Anders		
[æ]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Spillet	Spillet
		Bæltestedet
	1	**2**
(Total 3)		

Alexander		
[æ]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Spillet	Låret
	Bæltestedet	
	Holdet	
	Sproget	
	Spillet	
	5 (83,3%)	**1 (16,7%)**
Total 6		

Louise		
[æ]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Mødestedet	Tøjet
		Tøjet
		Spillet
		Landet
	1 (20%)	**4 (80%)**
Total 5		

Ane		
[æ]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Tøjet	Juniortræningsholdet
		Tøjet
		Landet
		Landet
		Landet
		Landet
		Politiet
		juniortræningsholdet
	1 (11,1%)	**8 (88,9%)**
Total 9		

Clara		
[æ]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Biblioteket	Landet
	1	**1**
(Total 2)		

Pernille		

[æ]	[əd]	[əð]
		Frikvarteret
		Gulvet
		Gulvet
		Stykket
(Total 4)		

Marie		
[æ]	**[əd]**	**[əð]**
	Bordet	Landet
		Landet
		Landet
	1	**3**
(Total 4)		

MEGET

	møj	**[əd]**	**[əð]**	**TOTAL**
Ulrik			18	18
Percentage			**100**	
Anders		1	8	9
Percentage		**1,1**	**88,9**	
Alexander			6	6
Percentage			**100**	
Louise			(3)	-
Percentage				
Ane			20	20
Percentage			**100**	
Clara			7	7
Percentage			**100**	
Pernille			20	20
Percentage			**100**	
Marie			5	5
Percentage			**100**	
Tine	-	-	(2)	-
Percentage	-	-	-	-

Velarised [ð]

Ulrik	
[ð̰ ˠ]	**[ð̰ ˞]**
Ved	Fed

Ved	Vide
Sted	Steder
Bedre	Sidde
Bedre	Sidde
Hedder	Tiden
Bedre	Ned
	Bedre
	Hedder
	Sidder
	Ned
	Betyder
	Sidder
7 (35%)	**13 (65%)**
Total 20	

Anders	
[ð̠ʸ]	**[ð̠̩]**
Ved	Nederen
Tiden	Ved
Bedre	Snyd
Bedre	Døde
Bedre	Ned
Hedder	Ved
Steder	Ned
	Ved
	Fritiden
	Ved
	Hedder
	Sidder
8 (40%)	**12 (60%)**
Total 20	

Alexander	
[ð̠ʸ]	**[ð̠̩]**
Hedder	Skød
Bedre	Ned
Fede	Ved
	Sted
	Ved
	Tiden
	Bæltestedet
	Nede
	Hedder
	Hedder
	Siddende
	Ved
	Sidde
	Stedet
3 (17,65%)	**14 (82,35%)**

Total 17	

Louise	
[ð ɣ]	**[ð ˛]**
Ved	Ved
Ved	Ved
Mødestedet	Nede
Fede	Derned
Fed	Gider
Sted	Tid
Sted	Siden
Ved	Siden
	Nede
	Kedeligste
	Siden
	Siden
8 (40%)	**12 (60%)**
Total 20	

Ane	
[ð ɣ]	**[ð ˛]**
Bedre	Tiden
Sted	Ved
Ved	Ved
Selvtillid	Ved
Gider	Nede
Gider	Ved
Tiden	Fed
Sted	Sidder
Sted	Altid
Sted	sidder
10 (50%)	**10 (50%)**
Total 20	

Clara	
[ð ɣ]	**[ð ˛]**
Ved	Ved
Tiden	Sted
Bred	Vedkommende
Bedre	Hedder
	Gider
	Hedder
	Bred
	Ned
	Tidspunkt
	Tidspunkt
	Tid
	Gider

	Nederen
4 (23,5%)	**13 (76,5%)**
Total 17	

Pernille	
[ð̞ʸ]	**[ð̞ˌ]**
Ved	Ved
Sidder	Altid
Vide	Rød
Siddet	ved
Sted	Møder
Vide	Nede
Ved	Gider
	Ved
	Bedre
	Tid
	Ved
	Tid
	Tid
7 (35%)	**13 (65%)**
Total 20	

Marie	
[ð̞ʸ]	**[ð̞ˌ]**
Siddet	Ved
Sidder	Sidder
Rød	Altid
Ved	Rød
Vide	Rød
Vide	Rød
Tid	Tid
Ved	Rød
Videre	Bålsted
Steder	Nederen
10 (50%)	**10 (50%)**
20	

Tine	
[ð̞ʸ]	**[ð̞ˌ]**
Gider	Rød
1	**1**
(Total 2)	

Deletion of [w]

Anders	
W-	**W+**
Lavet	
(Total 1)	

Louise	
W-	**W+**
Oplevet	-
(Total 1)	

Ane	
W-	**W+**
Prøvet	
Lavet	
Lavet	
Lavet	
Lavede	
Blevet	
Prøvede	
7	
Total 7	

Clara	
W-	**W+**
Blevet	
Lavede	
Blevet	
Blevet	
Blevet	
Total 5	

Pernille	
W+	**W-**
Lavet	Blevet
Lavet	
Lavede	
Skrevet	
Skrevet	
Lavet	
Prøvede	

7	**1**
Total 8	

Marie	
W-	**W+**
Lavet	Blevet
1	**1**
(Total 2)	

Tine	
W-	**W+**
Blevet	
(Total 1)	

Fronted [s]

Ulrik	
FRONTED [s]	**ALVEOLAR [s]**
Sammen	Vist
Sverige	Skiferie
Sverige	Skiferie
Skyerne	Nytårsaften
	Så
	Fest
	Fest
	Sad
	Sådan
	Så
	Først
	Sverige
	Sverige
	Skulle
	Kanonslag
	skulle
4 (20%)	**16 (80%)**
Total 20	

Anders	
FRONTED [s]	**ALVEOLAR [s]**
Siger	Skæg
Se	Kanonslag
	Så
	Fuser

	Som
	Fuseren
	Sådan
	Kastede
	Så
	Strøg
	Først
	Så
	Siger
	Sjovt
	Sådan
	Stort
	Heksehyl
	Skriger
2 (10%)	**18 (90%)**
Total 20	

Alexander	
FRONTED [s]	**ALVEOLAR [s]**
sådan	Også
	Sådan
	Vist
	Fest
	Sammen
	Så
	Så
	Så
	Resten
	Så
	Fuser
	Skød
	Salut
	Stod
	Sammen
	Springer
	Sidst
	Sidst
	Faktisk
1 (5%)	**19 (95%)**
Total 20	

Louise	
FRONTED [s]	**ALVEOLAR [s]**
Sådan	McDonald`s
	Sikkert
	Også
	Klasser
	Som
	Sådan

	Sådan
	Så
	Stå
	Som
	Sidste
	Mødes
	Skole
	McDonald`s
	Også
	Mødestedet
	Mødes
	Præcis
	vores
1 (5%)	**19 (95%)**
Total 20	

Ane	
FRONTED [s]	**ALVEOLAR [s]**
Selv	Så
Sådan	Striks
Sige	Striks
Skal	Siger
Så	Altså
siger	Sige
Ser	Skal
også	Klasser
Siger	Klasser
	Skolen
	Står
9 (45%)	**11 (55%)**
Total 20	

Clara	
FRONTED [s]	**ALVEOLAR [s]**
Altså	Også
Så	Startede
Også	Så
	Så
	Ligesom
	Starten
	Snakker
	Forskel
	Klasser
	Skolerne
	Små
	Steder
	Eksempel
	Andst
	Lunderskov

	Starten
	Sker
3 (15%)	**17 (85%)**
Total 20	

Pernille	
FRONTED [s]	**ALVEOLAR [s]**
Sådan	Sådan
Sjov	Sådan
Sådan	Sjov
Så	Snakkede
Søren	Cyklede
Kasper	Spurgte
	Første
	Sådan
	Sne
	Sagde
	Skulle
	Bukser
	Vores
	Klasse
6 (30%)	**14 (70%)**
Total 20	

Marie	
FRONTED [s]	**ALVEOLAR [s]**
Siddet	Så
C-klassen	McDonald`s
C-klassen	McDonald`s
	Sådan
	Altså
	Sådan
	Altså
	Pas
	C-klassen
	Selv
	Sammen
	Ellers
	Mads
	Sådan
	Som
	Sagt
	C-klassen
3 (15%)	**17 (85%)**
Total 20	

Tine	

FRONTED [s]	**ALVEOLAR [s]**
Forskel	Sig
Som	Selv
Som	Hvis
Altså	Louise
Også	Som
Sådan	Altså
Hendes	Så
	Stor
	Forskel
	Stor
	Bamse
	Som
	Hendes
7 (35%)	**13 (65%)**
Total 20	

Appendix B

Chapter 5: Statistical results

OR	Boys	Girls			Boys			Girls			I alt
Jutland	15	46			Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	
Standard	26	36		Jutland	15	20,33333	1,148907	46	40,6666667	0,574454	61
				Standard	26	20,66667	1,130376	36	41,3333333	0,565188	62
					41			82			123
				X2=	3,418925						
				Frihedsgrader	1						
				p=	0,064453						
				Dvs. ikke signifikant (men tæt på)							
SÅDAN	Boys	Girls			Boys			Girls			I alt
Jutland	15	17			Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	
Standard	49	81		Jutland	15	12,64198	0,273079	17	19,3580247	0,178337	32
				Standard	49	51,35802	0,067219	81	78,6419753	0,043898	130
					64			98			162
				X2=	0,562534						
				Frihedsgrader	1						
				p=	0,453241						
				Ikke signifikant							
EDE	Boys	Girls			Boys			Girls			I alt
Jutland	2	0			Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	
Standard	12	31		Jutland	2	**0,622222**	1,238294	0	**1,37777778**	0,559229	2
				Standard	12	13,37778	0,057595	31	29,6222222	0,026011	43
					14			31			45
				Her kan en X2-test ikke udføres fordi de forventede forekomster er mindre end 5 for "Jylland"							
EN	Boys	Girls			Boys			Girls			I alt
Dialect	5	3			Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	
Jutland	3	4		Dialect	5	**1,662338**	6,7014	3	6,33766234	1,757744	8
Standard	8	54		Jutland	3	**1,454545**	1,642045	4	5,54545455	0,4307	7
				Standard	8	12,88312	1,850859	54	49,1168831	0,485471	62
					16			61			77
				Her kan en X2-test ikke udføres fordi de forventede forekomster er mindre end 5 for drenge							
ET: LAVET	Boys	Girls			Boys			Girls			I alt
Jutland	1	4			Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	
Standard	7	49		Jutland	1	**0,655738**	0,036988	4	4,3442623	0,005583	5
				Standard	7	7,344262	0,003302	49	48,6557377	0,000498	56
					8			53			61
				X2=	0,046372						
				Frihedsgrader	1						
				p=	0,829502						
				Ikke signifikant							
ET: HUSET	Boys	Girls			Boys			Girls			I alt
Dialect	0	0			Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	
Jutland	12	2		Jutland	12	6,740741	3,360246	2	7,25925926	3,120229	14
Standard	1	12		Standard	1	6,259259	3,618727	12	6,74074074	3,360246	13
					13			14			27
				X2=	13,45945						
				Frihedsgrader	1						
				p=	0,000244						
				Signifikant							

MEGET	Boys	Girls			Boys			Girls			I alt
Dialect	0	0			Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	
Jutland	1	0		Jutland	1	**0,388235**	0,032175	0	**0,61176471**	0,020419	1
Standard	32	52		Standard	32	32,61176	0,000383	52	51,3882353	0,000243	84
					33			52			85
				Her kan en X2-test ikke udføres fordi de forventede forekomster er mindre end 5 for "Jutland"							
Velarised /ð/	Boys	Girls			Boys			Girls			I alt
Modern	18	39			Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	
Standard	39	58		Modern	18	21,0974	0,319779	39	35,9025974	0,187911	57
				Standard	39	35,9026	0,187911	58	61,0974026	0,110422	97
					57			97			154
				X2=	0,806023						
				Frihedsgrader	1						
				p=	0,369299						
				Ikke signifikant							
Fronted /s/	Boys	Girls			Boys			Girls			I alt
Modern	7	29			Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	Obs	Forventet	Afvigelse	
Standard	53	91		Modern	7	12	1,6875	29	24	0,84375	36
				Standard	53	48	0,421875	91	96	0,210938	144
					60			120			180
				X2=	3,164063						
				Frihedsgrader	1						
				p=	0,075276						
				Ikke signifikant							

Appendix C

Chapter 6: Coding analyses of eight dialect variants

WEST JUTLANDIC *STØD*

Grandfather

Dialect ([ʔ])	**Standard**
Efterår	Sætte
Kattene	Skrækkelig
	Nakke
	Nakke
	Rykkes
	Flyttet
	Rykke
	Tippe
2	**8**
Total 10	

Grandmother

Dialect ([ʔ])	**Standard**
P_H_lampe	Efterår
Smagte	Lygte
Servietter	Fjorten
	Pakket
	Oppe
	Stykke
3	**6**
Total 9	

Father

Dialect ([ʔ])	**Standard**
Sluppet	
Snakket	
Total 2	

Mother

Dialect ([ʔ])	**Standard**
	Lommelygte
	Billetter
	Billetter
	Købte
	Smykker
	Græskarsuppen
	Tallerkener
	Bagefter

	Vente
	Vente
	Starte
	Stykker
	Stykke
	Stykke
Total 14	

Aunt

Dialect ([ʔ])	**Standard**
	Snakke
	Jakke
	Dunjakke
	Købte
	Minutter
	Bankede
	Bankede
	Snuppet
	Eftermiddag
	Bitte
	Drikke
Total 11	

Ane

Dialect ([ʔ])	**Standard**
	Otteogtyvende
	Deroppe
	Oppe
	Efter
	Kørte
	Aftensmad
	Tallerkener
	Efterårsferien
	Efterårsferien
	Oppe
	Tænker
	Klinikken
Total 12	

Brother

Dialect ([ʔ])	**Standard**
	Hatte
	Lukker
	Minutter

	Blindeblukken
	Nytårsaften
	Sætte
	Måtte
	Minutter
	Klinikken
Total 9	

Sister

Dialect ([ʔ])	**Standard**
	Bagefter
	Optaget
	Optaget
	Bagefter
Total 4	

NEGATION

Speaker	**Dialect** (*æt*)	**Standard** (*ikke*)	**Total**
Grandfather	17		17
Grandmother	7		7
Father	4		4
Mother		10	10
Aunt		17	17
Ane		20	20
Brother		10	10
Sister		9	9

PERSONAL PRONOUN

Speaker	**Dialect** (*a*)	**Standard** (*ikke*)	**TOTAL**
Grandfather	11		11
Grandmother	2	3	5
Father	4		4
Mother		13	13
Aunt		20	20
Ane		20	20
Brother		16	16
Sister		10	10

ARTICLE

Grandfather

Dialect (preposed article)	**Standard**
Æ efterår	
Æ hund	
Æ kat	
Æ nabo	
Æ gård	
Æ hus	
Æ fingre	
Æ dug	
Æ dug	
Æ nakke	
Æ nakke	
Æ lastbil	
Total 12	

Grandmother

Dialect (preposed article)	**Standard**
Æ efterår	Planen
Æ gård	Stormen
Æ ladedør	
Æ bord	
Æ uge	
Æ servietter	
6	**2**
Total 8	

Father

Dialect (preposed article)	**Standard**
Æ januarudsalg	Bordet
Æ vinduer	Bordet
2	**2**
Total 4	

Mother

Dialect (preposed article)	**Standard**
Æ ferie	Pigeklubben
Æ tallerkener	Pigeklubben
Æ tærte	Græskarsuppen
Æ Ryanair-	Ryanairmålene
	Salaten
	Tærten
	Salaten
	Majsene
	børnene

4	**9**
Total 13	

Aunt

Dialect (preposed article)	**Standard**
	Mosteren
	Spøgelset
	Toget
	Toget
	Byen
	Vinterferien
	Toget
	Bussen
	Vinterferien
	Toget
	Morgenen
	Togene
	Tiden
	Toget
	Fireren
Total 15	

Ane

Dialect (preposed article)	**Standard**
	Pigeklubben
	Familien
	Dugen
	Toget
	Bussen
	Bussen
	Bussen
	X-bussen
	Bussen
	Dagen
	Vinterferien
	Onsdagen
	Torsdagen
	Tiden
	I-padden
	Bussen
	Efterårsferien
	Efterårsferien
	Klinikken
	Telefonen

Total 20	

Brother

Dialect (preposed article)	**Standard**
	Gården
	Dørene
	Gardinerne
	Blindeblukken
	Toilettet
	Sengen
	Bordene
	Familien
	Blodet
	Starten
	Toget
	Klinikken
	Toget
	Siden
	Computeren
Total 15	

Sister

Dialect (preposed article)	**Standard**
	I-padden
	I-padden
	I-podden
	Ryggen
	Ryggen
	Sommerferien
	I-podden
	I-padden
Total 8	

DIPHTHONGISATION OF [o:]

Grandfather

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([o:])
Tror	Bor
	Mor
1	**2**
Total 3	

Grandmother

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([o:])

God	God
	Bord
	Tror
	Gjorde
1	**4**
Total 5	

Father

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([oː])
	Bord
	Godt
	God
	To
Total 4	

Mother

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([oː])
	Godt
	Godt
	Kokosmælk
Total 3	

Aunt

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([oː])
	Mor
	God
	Mor
	Tror
	Kroner
	Mor
	Godt
	God
	To
	Tog
	Troede
	Troede
	Troede
	Gjorde
	Tror
Total 15	

Ane

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([oː])

	Godt
	Stor
	To
	Mor
	Tror
	Tror
	Tror
	Mor
	Mor
	Tror
	Tog
	Tog
	Overhovedet
	Onsdagen
	To
	Gjorde
	To
	To
	Gjorde
	To
Total 20	

Brother

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([oː])
	To
	Bordene
	Godt
	To
	Blodet
	Kroner
	Bordet
Total 7	

Sister

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([oː])
	Mor
	Mor
	Tror
	Stor
	Gjorde
	Mor
	Mor
Total 7	

DIPHTHONGISATION OF [e:]

Grandfather

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([e:])
Mere	Mere
En	
Ned	
Se	
Mere	
5	**1**
Total 6	

Grandmother

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([e:])
Se	Hele
Helt	Mere
Helt	Mere
Hel	Mere
En	
En	
6	**4**
Total 10	

Father

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([e:])
Helt	Enogtyvende
Ser	Nede
En	
3	**2**
Total 5	

Mother

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([e:])
	Mere
	En
	Se
	En
	Nede
Total 5	

Aunt

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([e:])
	Hele
	En

	Se
	Fedt
	Fed
	En
	Ned
	Hele
	Se
	Hele
	Mente
	Mente
	Mente
Total 13	

Ane

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([eː])
	En
	En
	Helt
	En
	En
	Mere
	Hele
	Nede
	Telefonen
	Telefonopkald
	Hele
Total 11	

Brother

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([eː])
	Hele
	En
	Se
	Ned
	Mere
	Se
	Helt
	Ned
	Nede
	Nede
	Hjemve
	Sent
	Helt
Total 13	

Sister

Dialect (diphthong)	**Standard** ([eː])
	En
	Mere
	Se
	Mere
Total 4	

-D

Grandfather

Dialect ([j,r,0])	**Standard** ([ð])
Derude	Ud
Steder	Glad
Ned	
Ude	
Tid	
5	**2**
Total 7	

Grandmother

Dialect ([j,r,0])	**Standard** ([ð])
God	God
Nede	Godt
Ud	Ned
God	
4	**3**
Total 7	

Father

Dialect ([j,r,0])	**Standard** ([ð])
	Januarudsalg
	Nede
	God
Total 3	

Mother

Dialect ([j,r,0])	**Standard** ([ð])
	Rydde
	Hedder
	Ud
	Ud
	Udenom

	Nede
	Godt
Total 7	

Aunt

Dialect ([j,r,0])	**Standard** ([ð])
	Hedder
	Kæde
	Ud
	God
	Fed
	Tiden
	God
	Mad
	Mad
	Mad
	Godt
Total 11	

Ane

Dialect ([j,r,0])	**Standard** ([ð])
Ødelagt	Død
Nede	Hed
	Hed
	Aftensmad
	Godt
	Besked
	Besked
	Besked
	Godt
	Godt
	Tid
	Megaglad
	Mad
2	**13**
Total 15	

Brother

Dialect ([j,r,0])	**Standard** ([ð])
Nede	Hedder
	Ned
	Mad
	Blodet
	Tid

	Ned
	Nede
	Siden
	Mad
	Godt
1	**10**
Total 11	

Sister

Dialect ([j,r,0])	**Standard** ([ð])
	Mad
Total 1	

HV-

Speaker	**Dialect** (*w*)	**Standard** (*v*)	**Total**
Grandfather	8	8	16
Grandmother	2	2	4
Father		1	1
Mother		1	1
Aunt		14	14
Ane		19	19
Brother		15	15
Sister		13	13

Appendix D

Chapter 6: Overview of 29 episodes of Stylised *vestjysk*

Activity	**Episodes**	**Numeric occurrence**
Academic shortcomings	What I don´t know shit Find a way	3
Parodies of discussions	Drops The tablecloth Christmas Eve A long time Not lying It doesn´t work The cock	7
Transgressions of physical integrity	A flab on the back All down by the floor Swine	3
Deconstructions of self-claimed authority	Teemo Because I have tried Just not cool man	3
Personal shortcomings	A lane	1
Mitigations of corrections	Down here	1
Intensifications of social positions	Just nasty Greasy You can do nothing Just great It´s two Actually not	6
Uncertain	The shit The cold Apron The internet The town	5
Total		29

Appendix E:

Chapter 7: Overview of 46 episodes of Stylised *københavnsk*

Activity	**Episodes**	**Numeric occurrence**
Negative evaluations of linguistic forms	Denmarker Laid in my bed	2
Rejections of immaturity	Sixteen Christmas present race The Ball Little kid Whore No name No name	7
Negotiations of peer recognition	Punk If you behave Insist Musse Everybody Vodka Mackerel Who wants to know Cool man hot tub No name	10
Distance to authoritative norms	Bags Stop bullying 72 hours 15 minutes What´s the time, Arne	5
Complaints	A pile of shit Play Spoof No name	3
Negative evaluations of an activity	Shitty perker Sound delicious Piss, man The tablecloth (a)	4
Rejections of non-mainstream sexuality	Naughty girl A little brown	2
Uncertain	Something about it Some The man, uh Like it Integrated Hot for you Workout Hallo Offensive He needs surgery No name No name No name	13
Total		**46**